

"IF YOU HAVE LIED ABOUT ME, YOU HAVE LIED ABOUT EVERYTHING"[☆]:

HUIS GIDEON MALHERBE

A discussion of the Afrikaans Taal Museum.

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☆ Walker, A. 1989. The Temple of my Familiar

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ABSTRACT

Within academia it is now accepted that personal experiences, as well social construction influence the way people perceive the world, and thus the research process and findings. Research, no matter how empirical, is not immune to personal guess work and conclusions. The same however, can be said for the establishment of museums and monuments which are meant to commemorate events, or epochs in the history of a nation. For in the establishment of the museum or monument the curators and researchers do choose those events which are deemed important enough as history to be preserved for prosperity.

The following thesis is an investigation of the Afrikaans Taal museum, or Afrikaans Language Museum situated in Paarl, Cape Province. The museum aims to reproduce a history of the Afrikaans language, culminating in the eventual recognition of Afrikaans as an official language. In the thesis though, I argue that by choosing to represent certain events in the history of the language, and excluding others, the museum becomes a symbol of/for Afrikanerdom.

If South Africa is to heal its wounds caused by Apartheid and the Armed Struggle, all monuments and museums established during the reign of the National Party will have to be investigated, and the feasibility of their existence called into question.

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January 10, 1973

i sit for hours staring at my own right hand
wondering if it would help me shoot the judge
who called us chimpanzees from behind his bench
and would it help pour sweet arsenic
into the governor's coffeepot
or drop cyanide into yours.
you don't have to tell me;
i understand these are the clichéd fantasies
of twenty-five million longings
that spring spontaneously to life
every generation.
it is hard for me to write
what everybody already knows;
still, it appears to me
i have pardoned the dead
enough.

(Alice Walker *Her Blue Body Everything We Know*)

Section 1

Chapter 1 : Introduction

The following thesis is an examination of the Huis Gideon Malherbe- Afrikaanse Taalmuseum¹ in Paarl, and argues from the beginning that the museum, as a state institution, is an artefactual expression of Afrikanerdom², and the ruling party of 48 years, the National Party. I will not be concentrating, in detail, on the museum's floor plan, although I will use it as a means of criticising the museum in its social context. Nor will I be discussing the value of museums in general, or this specific museum's visitor attendance. But rather the language of the exhibitions; as well as their contextual construction, in terms of conventional and alternative histories. Susan Pearce (1990:146) writes,

"In semiotic terms, exhibitions are clearly a 'language' system of their own, albeit a complex one, which combines all kinds, label texts, graphics,

¹ Afrikaans Language Museum

² Here I would like take the opportunity to give a definition of Afrikaner. There has been many debates about the term, but I will use Steyn's (1987:74) definition. According to him, Afrikaner has come to stand for 3 separate groups/meanings:

1. Afrikaans and English speaking whites who saw South Africa as their home, even if they immigrated from England or France or Germany.

2. The white Afrikaans speakers

3. Coloured and white Afrikaans speakers.

(I Use this definition of Afrikaner in chapter 6)

hardware like cases and agents like lightning, all put together in a specific form".

And it is this 'specific form' that I will examine. As the thesis investigates the ideological aspect of the museum, it falls within the scope of new museology³, but is, however, not about the "new museology", i.e. this thesis does not explore "new museology" as a body of theory, its scope, interests, or shortcomings.

However, getting down to the nitty gritty, we find that on reading the Taal museum, the ideological aspect might be glaringly obvious, albeit to those acquainted with the history of the language, but is, in terms of academics, not as easy to demonstrate. The problem arises when it is considered that the museum milieu is constructed around such a noble idea as the neutrality of knowledge, which museums are the dispensers of. This means that museum knowledge is unquestionable, and therefore a-political. This seemingly non-political aspect of the museum

³ Vergo (1989:3) "Whether we like it or not, every acquisition (and indeed disposal), every juxtaposition or arrangement of an object or work of art, together with other objects or work of art, within the context of a temporary exhibition or museum display means placing a certain construction upon the past, of our own culture or someone else's, of mankind in general or a particular aspect of human endeavour. Beyond the captions, the information panels, the accompanying catalogue, the press handout, there is a subtext comprising innumerable diverse strands, woven from the wishes and ambitions, the intellectual or political, or social, or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, the sponsor - to say nothing of the society, the political or social or educational system that nurtured all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them. Such considerations, rather than, say, the administration of museums, their methods and techniques of conservation, their financial well-being, their success or neglect in the eyes of the public, are the subject matter of the new museology.

then, as professed by the museum, and accepted by the audience, obscures ideological premises on which the museum, and its exhibits have been built. Charles Suamarez Smith (1989:12) states, "The literature of the transformation of goods as they travel through a life-cycle suggest that once the artifacts appear in the museum they enter a safe and neutral ground, outside the arena where they are subjected to multiple pressures of meaning. This is not true; on the contrary, museums present all different territories of display, with the result that the complexities of epistemological reading continue".

While Vergo (1989:2) says

"The very act of collecting has a political or ideological or aesthetic dimension which cannot be overlooked. According to what criteria are works of art judged to be beautiful, or even historically significant? What, makes certain objects rather than others 'worth' preserving for posterity?".

But Susan Pearce (1990:149) writes, "All human history exhibitions are representational, and so provoke questions about the nature of their relationship to 'a past reality' and to historical change." Museums then, do not exist within a vacuum,

and have to be "representational"⁴ in order that they exist at all. As Pearce (1990:158) also states, "The designing of an exhibition is an act of interpretation which opens meaning, and in a political world this is a political act which needs to be handled with great care".

Semiotics provide one way of reading a museum, feminism another. Feminism, as we shall see in chapters 3 and 4 impact upon that arena in a discipline, for example of archaeology or sociology, and exposes the intricacies of power relations. It deals with issues around the oppressed and oppressor, colonised and coloniser. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (1982), for instance argues that conventional history has excluded or marginalised women's life histories. This has led to the dominance of a male perspective that has come to seem almost universal, and natural, through the hegemonic patriarchal system. By placing the focus on women, the gendered construction of 'male' and 'female' are investigated, and at the same time decentring the patriarchal ideology.

Although Semiotics and Feminism could be approached from different perspectives in the thesis, they are not mutually exclusive. In this thesis I marry these two theories as feminist-semiotics, to deconstruct the Afrikaans Taal museum. Together they provide the means of investigating the excluded histories of women, and the black community in the language museum, as I

⁴ "Representational" takes on a dual meaning, being both a representation, i.e. a physical exhibit; as well as being representative of the people they (museums) serve.

could focus on these particular silences. The constructed images of white and black women, as well as black men in the museum, indicates the construction of the history of the Afrikaans language and by extension, the particular history the museum reproduces.

The thesis is designed to move from the theory, to analysis, and is divided into three main sections, with Section 1 dealing with the theoretical background; Section 2 with the historical background, and Section 3 with the analysis proper, of the museum. This analysis leads to a proposal for an alternative to the present Taalmuseum.

Chapter 2 deals with the course I had done while a student at Community Education Resources (CER) at the Centre for African Studies at U.C.T. I have included a chapter on CER and the course curriculum, as the latter and my thesis work influenced each other. Chapters 3 and 4 tackle the theoretical implications and impact of feminism on archaeology as well as museum studies. These two chapters are the basis of my investigation.

Chapters 5 and 6, in section 2, deal with the histories of the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner Nationalism respectively. An understanding of these histories are important if one is to comprehend the working and meaning of the Afrikaans Language museum. Secondly, and importantly, it also provides insight into the relevance of the museum, and aspect which is important in such a study.

Section three is divided into six chapters, each dealing with an aspect of the museum which, I conclude, are an important link in the formation of the museum as an Afrikaner symbol. These are,

- 1) The importance of the GRA;
- 2) The exclusion of women;
- 3) Racism.

These are preceded by an explanation of the lay-out of the museum, in order that the reader has a sense of the content of the museum. The penultimate chapter is a discussion of interviews I had completed with Afrikaans language teachers from Paarl, in order to gauge their knowledge, but also feelings of the Taal museum, and also provides a basis for the proposal for the alternative to the present museum in the conclusion. The conclusion draws together the various strands, and shows how the four aspects I have referred to, are all intricately bound together.

I will now turn to the discussion of Community Education Resources.

Section 1

Chapter 2 : Community Education Resources

In 1991, when I started my Masters degree, I was accepted by Community Education Resources (CER), to their Masters' Student Programme (MSP). The MSP was started in 1988 as part of the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town. The aim of the MSP programme is to study the process of producing a popular resource. This fits in to the overall objective of CER, which is to facilitate exchange of expertise between the University community and the community at large. In this way, CER hopes that knowledge produced by academia is made accessible to this community, for instance through a resource, and that the knowledge which is in the community will influence the academic research.

In an 1986 mission statement, CER outlined the political context in which it was established.

"In the past few years, the government has restricted information flow to a greater degree than ever before. In this context, the University has a responsibility to make its research findings available to as wide an audience as possible, to help South Africans achieve a more balanced understanding of the situation they find themselves in".

The report then goes on to say, "The University, by using the resources and research at its disposal can play a far more

active role in informal community education". By 1990, the political sphere necessitated a change in practise and policy for Non-Government Organisations (NGO's), and along with them, CER. The 1990 CER statement reads:

"However, the reorientation of community based organisations from opposition politics to future government, has stimulated a growing interest in post-apartheid policy. We now anticipate a growing demand for skills training - particularly in the area of research and resource production".

Throughout these years, the MSP has been the "laboratory to study the processes of popularisation⁵". Academic accreditation is not conferred upon the course, while funding has been received from outside the university. Because of cuts in funding the future of the MSP is in the balance, and also the future of CER.

The structure of the MSP course for the two years from 1991-1992, was as follows:

The first four weeks were intensive, geared towards defamiliarising us with the academic method of doing research that we have had become accustomed to. The course was called "An Orientation towards Popular Education" consisting of 1.Orientation; 2.Focus on Methodology; 3.Formats; 4.Written Materials. During these four weeks we had speakers such as Howie Mandel, Cheryl Carolus and Jonathan Grossman giving their input

⁵ CER mission statement 1989.

on subjects such as the role of education and training in building trade unions, and the concept of empowerment.

The rest of the year was divided as follows:

1. May to September: Issues in the Popularisation of Research.

During these weeks we began to tie issues of our own research to that of ethics, accountability and the political role of the researcher. Once again we had speakers who came to share their experience in doing research. Important for us as university based students, the speakers were established at tertiary institutions. After the vacation, we turned to research itself looking at methodology; evaluation; literacy and orality; and the reading worlds. We began to see the necessity of knowing who the user-group is, not only in doing the research, but also in doing the evaluation. Secondly, we became aware of the necessity of being informed about the reading world of the user-group, as this would be the people the resource would be aimed towards, and thus has to be intelligible to them.

2. September to October: Contextualising Popular Education.

In the second part of the programme we, as students, were given the chance to talk about our resource proposals and the issues we were grappling with. We then went on to discuss Education, Cognitive and Political theory, before spending a session once again dealing with our own work.

The following year we met less often, although the work was not less intensive. It constituted mostly of looking at the practical side of producing the resource, such as issues of planning,

writing, design, lay-out and printing. From 1992 till 1993 we met informally to support and discuss each others work, both the resource and the thesis. As we began working on our popular resources, the theories which we had been discussing became reality, while interchange with our user-groups resulted in changes in our initial resource proposal.

I would now like to sketch very briefly the rocky road of the resource production. My first thought was to produce a booklet consisting of text and graphics, and dealing with the issue of the Afrikaans language. But after I had the chance to scrutinise the work of former CER students, I settled on a loose leaf file. At this stage I had also started conceptualising the scope of my resource, i.e. the issues which I would be examining in the resource. I decided to tackle the idea of Afrikaans as Mothertongue, and the implications this has in a South African society. I decided to include and explore the idea of the 'Fatherland', as these concepts are often used together⁶. A means of examine these concepts would be by the hand of investigating popular ideas and concepts of 'mother' and 'father', and investigate whether these ideas hold true for 'mothertongue' and 'fatherland'. It would then be best to do workshops with students, and lecturers, as it is within the school context that the idea of the Mothertongue is most prevalent. The loose-leaf file format, would also be more accessible and easier to use,

⁶ As we shall see in the thesis, these concepts are used together by the Fellowship of True Afrikaners (Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners) whom the museum commemorates in its exhibits.

than for instance a booklet. Thus my target audience would be teachers and student, and student teachers.

The first step was to work out the workshops I was hoping to do with student teachers at the Athlone College of Education⁷ in Paarl. After that I had to juggle time slots to be able to do the workshops. The three initial workshops I had to merge to become two, as the teacher was able to assign me two of his class periods. I had the students do an evaluation of my workshops to be able to do the corrections needed. I then started on the write-up of the workshops, which at this stage I divided into four. The reason for this was to accommodate it within the time of a class period.

After this it was the time consuming endeavour of doing corrections and having the package proofread before it could be ready for production. In the meantime I also had to contact printers to assess the best possible organisation to use. I also had to contact HAUM Literer as I was using Jean Goosen's book "Ons is nie almal so nie", and needed the writers permission to reprint some pages to be included in the package. After that, it was the printing, and now the distribution.

I have done interviews with six Afrikaans teachers on their attitudes to the Afrikaans Language museum, as part of my CER work. I used the information to assess the possibility of doing workshops on Afrikaans and its ideological dimensions, as well

⁷ Onderwyskollege Athlone

as a background to my thesis work. I have now incorporated these interviews into my thesis, using the teacher's thoughts and ideas in chapter eleven.

I have also decided to include the loose leaf package which I have produced as my CER popular resource, into my thesis as an appendix⁸. The reason for this is to highlight the fact that it is necessary for the wider community to be aware of the work that is being done by those working in academia. The reverse is as important. With the teacher's interviews, I was able to formulate much of my ideas more clearly. More importantly, I show that these thoughts are not borne in vacuum, and that I am part of the community in which these teachers and myself were raised.

My thoughts about the power that the researcher holds when doing research which involves a community, became concretised. It is much easier for the researcher to misuse the people which she/he claims to serve, and as such the researcher has to be aware of the power she /he has.

⁸ See Appendix 1

Section 1

Chapter 3 - Feminism/Gender and the study of archaeology.

In September of 1992 Margaret Conkey visited the Department of Archaeology at U.C.T. and hosted a workshop on gender which lasted for more or less a week. At the end of the week I was left feeling that more could have been done, but amazed at Meg Conkey's deft handling of the workshops, and of the questions. The workshops were a follow-up to a gender conference that had been held, at U.C.T. the previous year. Even though the study of gender by way of feminist studies is not ingrained within the archaeology discipline, either in South Africa⁹, or in the U.S.A., the focus on gender in the conference and the workshops were significant in the department of archaeology at U.C.T. and for the discipline in South Africa (See Monis 1990, Solomon 1989, Conkey 1990, 1988, 1991a:2-3, 1992b:24 and 29, Conkey and Spector 1984, Gero 1985:342-343).

The gender conference brought up important issues for me specifically, especially about archaeologists' notions of gender and feminism in the discipline (See Conkey 1991b:24). Would a study of gender relations in archaeology simply mean to "make visible" women in, for instance, prehistory, while excluding the study of power relations? (Solomon 1989:14). Or as Anne Solomon

⁹ An indication of this is the scarcity of literature on gender and archaeology in the Western Cape.

(1989:13) states, be appended as "a separate chapter on to the end of the research, and not as integrated into analysis as a whole". Meg Conkey and Joan Gero (1991:5) quoting Jane Flax state that "A fundamental goal of feminist theory has become the analysis of gender relations that includes - 'but is *not limited* to -what are often considered the feminist issues: the situation of women and the analysis of domination" (See also Conkey 1991b:25). In archaeology this would mean not only to find and identify women and their participation in gender relations in prehistory, but also to problematize underlying assumptions about gender and difference (Conkey and Gero 1991:5).

Equally it would mean looking at gender relations within one's own department, and at the power an institution has in wielding gender consciousness to it's own advantage without producing gender equality. It was interesting to note who had attended the gender workshops and one was left with the question whether all of the people would have attended if Meg Conkey had not been the guest at the department, but a junior lecturer, or tutor had been the facilitator. On the other hand, one has to consider that at least the workshop is a means of discussing feminism and gender in archaeology. It is a reality though, that the sociopolitical context within which a department is situated plays a major, if not decisive, part in what research or even theory is given importance (See Gero 1985). Fighting our way into the much quoted "New South Africa", it has been interesting too to note that racism became an issue at the gender workshop. This was good as

race, class, and gender are all interlinked. But race seemed to take on a form outside of gender and class.

This leads me to echo Conkey (and other feminist archaeologists) when she calls for a "conceptual framework" within the archaeological discipline through which a systematic engendering of archaeology and study of gender can be achieved (Conkey and Gero 1990:6, Conkey 1991a:3, Conkey and Williams 1991:103, Conkey 1991b:24¹⁰, Conkey and Spector 1984:2). It is important to note that such a framework would not be a blanket which will be applicable and cover all instances of gender-relationships. As Conkey (1991:28) states "...there is always the real possibility of homogenization or enclosure as in 'women's experience'". I will not though, be working on developing a framework in this chapter, or in the rest of the thesis.¹¹

In their article, "Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory", Gero and Conkey (1990:18) talk about the "uncritical acceptance of women and gender in past societies..." which risks this particular homogenizing over time, from the past to the present. The acceptance of the society you live in as blueprint on which an understanding of the past is fashioned, is problematic, also because it can lead to the acceptance of the experiences of women

¹⁰ Conkey cautions that we should "...actually develop, not just borrow, a body of theory and the requisite conceptual frameworks for archaeological inquiry." (own emphasis)

¹¹ For more information on the conceptual framework, see Conkey and Gero 1990; Conkey 1991; Conkey and Williams 1991; Conkey 1991b; Conkey and Spector 1984.

as similar even in a particular time period. This idea excludes the fact that race and class influence the lives of women differently. For as Conkey and Williams (1991:114) write, "A homogenizing gaze dissolves such things as gender categories, relations, separations, and therefore, 'culture is made sexless and it is women who become invisible through it'" (quoting Handsman 1988:15). I would also include race and class. Even if we cannot account for race and class in prehistory, we cannot discount that presently, and in the more recent past, women have experienced "gender", which has been constructed differently in lieu of their different race and class positions.

Relying on gender roles of the present, as well as ethnographic data of gender relationships, link with what Margaret Conkey and Sarah H. Williams (1991:108-111) refer to as "origins research". Origins research are simply the research into the origins of, for example, " agriculture, of ranking, trade, status, fire, art, toolmaking, hunting, the family, gender asymmetry, language, consciousness, symbolism, pottery, and so forth". Origins research, according to the writers, has the "power to structure the inquiry of the discipline, to influence the career successes of archaeologists, to reach the public, and to serve as a vehicle for political messages" (Conkey and Williams 1991:104; See also Conkey 1991a:12). What is of interest for this chapter is the phrase " ...power to structure the inquiry of the discipline..." which has echoes throughout the discipline right down to who is excluded or accepted into the discipline, and who is marginalised. Origins research, is the ability to, in a sense

control the past and the present. An example of origins research would be to "discover" the origins of for example, the control of fire or agriculture. Conkey and Williams (1991:107), argue that if "archaeology 'shows'...the antiquity of the nuclear family, pair-bonding, and the home base(read domestic unit)...these all too easily become legitimate analytical units, as natural, unquestioned elements of human social life...", while they also argue that "...in archaeological histories, aspects of the past are redefined in relation to the present".

This is where the focus on ethnographic data, and the idea that the present can be used (manipulated) as a "mirror of the past", and the concept of origins research link together. For the "discovery" of "man as hunter" and "woman as gatherer", "man as superior" and "woman as inferior", will lead to the legitimization of gender roles of the present, which is based on this power-relation where "man" is seen as superior. Yet, present gender-relations are exactly the blue print that is used to examine, and to lead to this discovery. Conkey (1991a:2-3) writes, talking about archaeological accounts/ reconstructions of past societies that,

" These reconstructions derive from a variety of problematic sources: from ethnographic accounts that are themselves gender-biased or from the beliefs that twentieth century (and mostly western, white, male) archaeologists hold about gender, about men and women, and about how prehistoric societies 'worked' and changed".

You therefore use the present to justify the past and then the past to justify the present. Both the gender-relations of the past as well as the present are then naturalised, contained, meant to be for all ages to come. Conkey for instance, asks "Where are the archaeological accounts that question the 'origins' narratives that either homogenize the lives and 'roles' (ideologies, relations) of prehistoric women...or prejudge, by ignoring or by attributing particular features to women, if not denigrate, their roles and associated ideologies?"

This brings me to language, for it is through language that these "discoveries" in the form of knowledge, usually in the form of written texts, are made "available". [Although the question here would be : To whom, how, and what knowledge (discovery) is made available?]. Language itself is gendered to represent the idea that men were hunters and that women were gatherers, carrying with it a whole set of conceptions. These ideas, such as that men as hunters are stronger than women who are gatherers, seem to be implicit and natural, a given. Conkey (1991a:5) for instance, writes,

"...we found that females-- if they were present at all in reconstructions of prehistory-- are usually depicted in a narrow range of passive, home-orientated tasks; they are often 'exchanged' as wives, are the objects of art and image-making, and symbols of fertility and sexuality. In contrast, prehistoric males are shown as very public, far-ranging (adventurous), productive, active, and responsible for

most of the significant changes in human evolution, especially technological innovations".

This stems from our societal construction, from human male or female beings (infants) to being men and women, with specific gendered consciousness. Evelyn Fox Keller (1986:172) writes, "...gender is neither simply the manifestation of sex, nor simply an easily dispensable artefact of culture. It is instead, what a culture makes of sex - it is the cultural transformation of male and female infants into adult men and women" (See also Conkey and Gero 1990:8).

As language is used to convey a researcher's conception of, for example, hunter-gatherer societies, or gender differentiation in a particular society, so language is implemented (used) in this "cultural transformation of male and female infants to adult men and women"; the scenario where boys are told not to cry and to "be strong" and girls are encouraged and sympathised with when they do. Boys are encouraged to be a "little man" and girls a "young lady". I will not expand on the argument here. But it does show, once again, that our present - it's construction through language; and the construction of our selves; as well as the way we perceive the past - are all linked.

The language that is used to speak/write about the past, (i.e. the men and women who peopled it,) too then, is gendered. Conkey and Gero (1990:20) note that many feminist archaeologists here encountered "...dull passive vocabulary that is

characteristically used to discuss change in material forms, especially for commonly used items and especially where production is assumed to be in the hands of women...."¹² While elsewhere, Conkey (1991a:6) writes "...it is sometimes in the very language that archaeologists use that bias and different representations of men and women can creep into the interpretations". And as an example, she states " Males, in prehistoric societies, often perform (various) 'activities'; women (more passively) engage in 'tasks'." , while "Male activities are often described in more detail, and are portrayed more frequently than female ones".

As professed in numerous articles, archaeology is not an objective science. Conkey (1991a:10) writes, "All sciences are social, every fact has a factor, a maker, who is a person of a certain nationality, race, class, ethnicity, gender, and -- in many instances -- some of these factors do affect their research". It is based upon the knowledge that the archaeologists who people the profession acquire, not only from books (which are not sources of objective truth either), but also from daily experiences, a version of the world. As gender and race are not homogenising structures, different people will experience life differently from others, and thus express it differently from other people. David Lewis-Williams (1993:46) writes

"The consciousness and interests of each archaeologist are formed, to a large extent, but by no means ineluctably, by his or her social, political,

¹² Own emphasis.

intellectual and academic milieu. At certain times in history certain issues seem important to certain archaeologists and historians. 'Importance' is ascribed; it is not inherent in events or data. The importance of events and issues, or lack of it, is governed more often than not by the political interests of the class from which archaeologists and historians come (or which they join). Neither archaeologists nor historians can, therefore, be expected to give 'unbiased', 'scientific' or 'professional' judgements about the past".

This does not mean that there is no basis for the study of archaeology. Feminists advocate the importance of personal experience, and with that the multiple reading of a text (Conkey and Spector 1990:22; Conkey 1989:28). It is precisely the personal experiences of women, and people of colour, that are either marginalized or ignored when it is assumed that the male, white experience is an experience valid for all people and races. When this experience becomes translated into academic language, it becomes naturalised, as shown before. Thus, placing women central to a study, substantiates the experiences of women in for instance the practise of agriculture in past societies. Conkey and Gero (1990:6) write, that archaeology has much to gain from a feminist theoretic, by "'...reclaiming for women which has historically been denied to them'" (quoting Keller 1987:237; Also see Conkey and Gero 1990:15).

Spivak (1992) however, cautions that marginalisation and the validation of personal experience, can become deceptive, when handled in such a manner that they do not threaten the power structures in a department or university. In this way, feminist, and/or popular studies are accepted as research topics, but are assimilated into an department or discipline and then wrested of its potency to challenge the power-structures, by the mere "inclusion" of this course of study, in what is seen to be "mainstream" studies. Conkey and Williams (1991:126) write, "Archaeology and, more widely, anthropological studies of gender must refuse to be marginalized within the accepted definitions of the discipline and *simultaneously* must refuse to be accommodated and to peacefully co-exist as an alternatively specialization, a more-or-less tolerated sideline".

An argument against the importance of personal experience, could be the view that it is a fall into solipsism - the view that the self is the only existent knowable thing. It would be argued that, as an androcentric text is criticised because it draws from the personal experiences of the writer, so the argument for the validity of the personal experiences of women, and of feminist writers, should be subject to critique for the same reason. We can then echo Belsey (1980:2) and claim that **both** are working from a basis of "common sense" which "...assumes that valuable literary..." (and here I would include archaeological) "...texts, those which are in a special way worth reading, tell truths - about the period which produced them, about the world in general or about human nature - and that in doing so they express the particular perceptions, the individual insights of their

authors". Because they are "individual insights", which seem the "natural" and "obvious" way of approaching a literary (archaeological) work, a text cannot "speak" for all individuals, cannot be an uncontested "truth". For example, this thesis cannot propose to speak for all black people, or even all black women, or even all Afrikaans speaking black women living in Paarl, but only for me because I am speaking from my personal experience. It could be further argued that I am assuming my experiences to be "natural" and "given", a critique I offer against texts written by white heterosexual males. Secondly, as G Ritchie (1990:50) has shown, it does not necessarily make a text less authoritative, if you make the author present in the text. Structuralism, or Post-Saussurean linguistics, for instance, "...proposes that common sense is itself ideologically and discursively constructed, rooted in a specific historical situation and operating in conjunction with a particular social formation" (Belsey 1980:3)¹³, so that my text or that of a white male are both, in for instance a non-academic situation, speaking from an authoritative stance.

However, it is important to remember that an engendered critique of archaeology would originate "from the margins" (Solomon 1989:13),¹⁴ while androcentric archaeological texts originate from the centre. An engendered critique simultaneously serves to

¹³ I use this particular quote taken from Structuralism to show that my texts, as well as that of a white male are both constructed and not as a comment on structuralism itself.

¹⁴ Spivak (1992:3) speaks about a gendered use of Enlightenment from the side, not necessarily from below. (own emphasis)

expose the gendered power-relations from which androcentric texts take their stance. If common sense "...betrays its own inadequacies, its incoherencies, its contradictions and its silences" (Belsey 1980:3), engendered archaeology would act to highlight this. In a sense a feminist approach in archaeology, and here I speak specifically about the importance of personal experience, decenters the validity of "common sense", by placing the experiences of women, as the focus. Yet, women too draw on common sense, but the difference is rooted in the idea that feminism acknowledges the differing experiences of women. I am not proposing a gynocentric approach to archaeological texts; be they written, museum displays or a site; but I am arguing for the validity of placing women in the centre as a means to - if I may quote Mark P. Leone when he talks about ideology - **transform** society, while the placement of white male experience in the centre, has, up to now, mostly **aided the reproduction** of society.

Gaby Ritchie (1990:49) allows me to take the argument further when she observes that

"...the objective style which is inculcated into students from first-year level, is a discourse of "truth". The third person narrative in particular effaces the author and achieves a semblance of objectivity, with the resultant appearance that whatever is being argued is the immutable truth for which no alternative exists".

This, I would argue, is what an androcentric approach achieves. The alternative, showing that the author/writer is rooted in a specific historical and social formation, (the subjectivity of the writer/author), would by showing differing perspectives, uproot the idea that "...knowledge produced in the academic world is... 'truthful' knowledge" (Ritchie 1990:40). One can say that it provides a "face" to the text. This is also what Margaret Conkey spoke about in the gender workshops, i.e. that a focus on gender-relations in prehistory will provide us a means of giving faces to the "people" of the past.

At the beginning of this chapter, I said that I echo Conkey, Gero, and others who call for a development of a conceptual framework for the engendering of archaeology. In the same article Conkey and Gero (1990:6) argue that we should firstly, analyze gender and secondly reframe how we think about gender. In this chapter I have tried to analyze gender in relation to archaeological texts, and in the next chapter reframe how we think about it, in terms specifically of museum displays.

Section 1

Chapter 4 - Women and Museums

"If history is only a partial record of the past it follows that one way of looking at history is in accordance with the omissions in the text" (Helen Coxall 1990).

In the previous chapter I spoke about the engendering of archaeology, and the "invisibility" of women in the archaeological record. This invisibility is carried over and perpetuated in museums, with the use of archaeological and historical sources. As many scholars before, one organisation, called Women, Heritage and Museums (WHAM), situated in Birmingham England has begun to look at women's concerns in the museum industry.

Women Heritage and Museums, "WHAM", a group situated in Birmingham, and specifically concerned with organising around women's issues within museums, "was set up in 1984 with the aims of promoting informed practise in collecting and display of women's heritage, encouraging wider use of museums by women, and campaigning for equal opportunities in museums" (Sue Kirby and Jane Legget WHAM Newsletter Oct 1990). Gaby Porter (1988:105-106) relates that

" In 1983 a small group of women from museums and museum studies teaching met to plan a conference to discuss the representation of women in museum displays and collections, and the position of women working in museums. This led to a weekend conference in April 1984, Women Heritage and Museums (WHAM) supported by the Equal Opportunities Commission and under the aegis of the Social History Curators Group. The conference was the first public platform for women's issues in museums and was attended by nearly a hundred people, mostly women".

She goes on to say that women are drawn to WHAM because of their frustrations "...with the presentation which most museums offer, or with their invisibility in museum displays" (G Porter 1988:106). There too are the reasons that prompted me to write to the organisation, in order to obtain more information about their work and to obtain articles to back up ideas and experiences which I had been forming concerning women's issues and museums. This is a form of validation, seeking other voices which have accordance with mine. It is important to take note of this need for validation, because I am aware that speaking in my own voice, without the backing of other academic literature, it will be easier for academics to criticise my work, then if I quote a long line of academics to validate my work.

Sïan Jones and Sharon Pay (1988:160) for instance, have named their chapter "The legacy of Eve" while Gaby Porter (1988:102)

calls hers "Putting your house in order: presentations of women and domestic life.". While Jones and Pay called on Eve to validate their ideas, Porter calls on the perpetrators who exclude women from presentations, or who resolve to stereotypes to validate hers. She does this by saying " if you are wrong, then my ideas must be valid". An aspect of seeking validation is the idea and feeling that one is speaking from the outside, or as mentioned in chapter 3, from a marginalised position. recognising this marginalised position means that there is a position that accords others marginality, and would therefore see itself as the unmarginal, the centre, or the truth.

But Sïan Jones (1990:22), for instance, writes about museums that "...they presume to present the illusion¹⁵ that they present the truth about the past". She goes further by saying "They present a past which gives illusion of authenticity" (Jones 1990:22). In both cases she uses the word "illusion", implying that we are able to see through these presentations. Or put another way, that we are able to speak from the marginal position through the unmarginal to redress the issue.

In addressing the issue of invisibility, I first mention the idea that women are presented "...mainly -if not exclusively- in the home" (G Porter 1988:106 ; See also Jones and Pay 1988:160; Sïan Jones WHAM Newsletter Oct 1990:23). Gaby Porter (1988:106-107) asserts that women, in social and local history museums are engaged in "ladylike pursuits " "...such as needlework or

¹⁵ My underlining.

lacemaking". Alternatively women are found doing the cooking, or laundry, yet first should be noted that "...household equipment is generally displayed as interesting and obsolete gadgetry rather than as a set of working tools" (Porter 1988:107). Women also appear as dummies in costume displays situated in a upper-or middle class domestic setting (Porter 1988:107). Sïan Jones (1990:23), in addition, notes that some costume displays as in the museum of London, are "...presented totally without context. The headdress frames exist detached, decapitated, from women's lives".

The image of woman presented by museums then are of someone who does not venture into the public realm and whose work is not deemed important. For as G Porter (1988:107) writes "Women are absent from virtually every trade and craft workshop in small museums, and barely visible in larger industrial museums". These images of women are made possible through the use of objects and images (Jones 1990:23), but also through "attitudes and practices of curatorship" (Porter 1988:107). Jones and Pay (1988:161) for instance maintain that,

"The experience and beliefs of all museum professionals influence the questions they ask and the answers they find. Current ideologies not only influence how the past is interpreted but determine which topics are considered worth representing and how to present them to the public" (See also Porter 1988:115).

On the question of ideologies which influence topics, representation and presentation, it is interesting to turn to an article written by Barbara Melosh and Christina Simmons (1986). In the article they discuss seven exhibitions , ranging from 1964 up to 1985, and whose link is a focus on women. They discuss the differences of presentation, and so doing, trace "...a dramatic but, partial transformation in public preservation of women's history" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:204). I will give an account of these exhibits and then tie these in with the ideas espoused by Jones and Pay (1988).

The first exhibit, opened in 1964, in the National Museum of American History (NMAH) of the Smithsonian Institute is called "The First Ladies Exhibit". This exhibition focuses on the presidential first ladies, and is called by Melosh and Simmons (1986:204) "...political history with a twist" due to its focus on the wives and not the presidents. It is interesting to note that the ladies are represented by mannequins whose faces are identical "...with the same dark eyes, straight nose and pale lips set in an expression of repose" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:204). To distinguish each lady, the mannequins are accompanied by a small placard naming her, and the dates of her administration. Each mannequin is dressed in an elaborate gown worn by the first lady, and is also the focus of the placard. According to Melosh and Simmons (1986:204) the curators settled upon the particular form of presentation "...so as not to distract from the dresses".

Melosh and Simmons (1986:205) have this to say of the exhibit, "The richness and formality of the gowns reflect the status of the presidents and the entire exhibit demonstrates the wearer's roles as hostesses and supervisors of White House furnishings and decoration."¹⁶ The First Ladies Hall embodies the notion of women as cultural symbols of beauty, graciousness, and service to men". Secondly, even the focus of First Ladies, still assumes second place to, and only acquires significance through their association with the presidents (Melosh and Simmons 1986:205). As the curators write, the ordinary duties of the First Ladies held no interest from a traditional historical perspective, and hence require little suggestion of activity, choice, or individual personality in their depiction.

The second exhibit is called "Eleanor Roosevelt: First Person Singular", organized in 1984. It is linked, physically to the First Ladies Hall, one entrance being to the left of the Hall, and as people exiting from First Ladies have to walk through First Person Singular.

The exhibit makes use of texts, Roosevelt memorabilia and documentation, personal belongings, such as a foxfur, and records of dinner parties. The media, for example the quotes by Eleanor herself, document her life from birth up to marriage and beyond. According to Melosh and Simmons (1986:206), the exhibit aims to illustrate her "...struggle to transcend the traditional female roles of daughter, wife and mother". It documents her

¹⁶ My own underlining.

friendships, relationships with her mother-in-law, and the discovery of Franklin Roosevelt's infidelity (Melosh and Simmons 1986:207). The exhibit includes elements and portrays nuances of this first lady's life which are left out in the First Ladies Hall. Yet, as Melosh and Simmons (1986:207) argue, the exhibit falls short of portraying Eleanor's "...often-distant relationship to feminism", as well as the historical controversy of the emotional and sexual content of her friendships with women.

"A Nation of Nations" is the third exhibit the authors take a keen look at. Its focus on the American history ranges from the transition from agricultural to industrial life, and centres squarely on daily life. The exhibit draws attention to women as millworkers, entertainers, and as nurses. Yet, as Melosh and Simmons (1986:209) argue, the exhibit fails to recognise the differences between the male and the female work experience. The writers also draw attention to the lack of representation of the movement of single and married women into paid labour, as well as failing to recognize the home as a workplace.

The fourth exhibit, Conner Prairie Pioneer Settlement, a 'living museum' is the recreation of an Indiana settlement in 1836 and is named after William Conner on the grounds of whose home the museum stands (Melosh and Simmons 1986:209). Making use of actors the visitors are taken through Conner's home, his life story told, as well as confronting his "...role in evicting native

peoples, including his own wife's tribe"¹⁷. Adjacent to the house is the 'living museum', a prairie town- a white farm settlement which apparently, was made possible by Conner's dealings and negotiations with local American Indians (Melosh and Simmons 1986:210).

In Prairietown, the actors reenact the seasonal work cycle, as well as holidays, as it would have been in 1836. The women's life is "...enmeshed in daily family and social life..." and their "...lives and work are treated thoroughly because the museum focuses on daily existence in a household community" ; "Women do productive work, childcare and domestic chores" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:210). And as the authors show, there is also comment about women's separate lives, in references made to women sharing information pertaining to abortion amongst themselves (Melosh and Simmons 1986:211).

In addition, the interaction between visitors and guides or actors even lead to discussions "...from wifebeating to electoral politics..." so that "...members of the audience are fruitfully engaged and hopefully made more sensitive to the conflicts and choices they face in their own world" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:211).

The next two exhibits, 'The National Woman's Party Headquarters' and 'Black Women: Achievements against the odds' focus primarily

¹⁷ William Conner's first wife was an American Indian, but moved with her tribe towards the west with their six children. Conner married a white woman and in 1823 built the Georgian Mansion.

on "...feminists and achievers" and begins by stating the "...premise of gender and racial conflict rather than ignoring it or understating it" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:211). The first exhibit aligns in pairs of two the women deemed as central figures in the womens' suffrage movement. These are Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Candy Stanton, Lucreatia Mott and Alva Belmont. There is also a portrait of a woman called Milholl and Boissevain on a white horse, and at the end of the hall a marble and ivory statue of Joan of Arc which "...evokes the hall's themes of female leadership and sacrifice for a cause" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:213).

Melosh and Simmons (1986:213), although they argue that the exhibit rightly challenges the historical idea of 'great men', yet still "...it shares the conventional 'history' as politics and public life". Furthermore, the history which it presents is one-dimensional as it fails to show in depth divisions that would have existed within the movement, nor does it explain the significance of 20th century feminism. Thirdly Melosh and Simmons (1986;214) argue that "...it has frozen the militant history of the NWP in a mythic past, distant from the confusions, struggles, and aspirations of the contemporary women's movement".

'Black Women: Achievements Against the Odds' honours black women's contributions to literature, art, reform, law, business and industry, government, entertainment, education, sports and the 'healing arts' which include medicine, nursing, dentistry and pharmacy. This is achieved through biographical sketches of women

such as Sojourner Truth, Rosa Parks and Mary Elizabeth Mahoney, the first black nurse (Melosh and Simmons 1986:215).

Although the exhibit, through its biographical slant, is a slight movement away from the NWP exhibit, it omits the private lives of these women. Melosh and Simmons (1986:216) also point out that this choice could be seen as positive as it presents "...black women as public figures". Yet they do argue that singling out sex as a determining factor, and to omit the private lives of these women, seem contradictory. Melosh and Simmons (1986:216) argue that this omission keeps questions about how these women succeeded in both the public life and in raising a family, or managed community responsibilities or both, unasked and unanswered.

The next exhibit, "25 Years of Barbie Dolls" is a focus on just that, a history of the popularity of Barbie dolls, yet also trying to "...assess critically the doll's relationship to recent American history" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:217). The entrance to the exhibit is contrastingly feminine with pink panels, lettering, drapery and balloons to the adjoining rooms where "Barbies, Kens and other friends line the walls of one large room" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:217). Barbies are dressed as a pregnant woman, a Playboy Bunny, an Olympic skier, a Candy Striper and an Army recruit.

A section called "The Business of Barbie" focuses on the marketing and annual sales, while a section which chronologizes

the evolvement of Barbie. In so doing it sets Barbie in historical context. It also demonstrates the Mattel Corporation's involvement in the fashion industry as well as the changes which occur in this industry. Barbie, for instance, changes from the cool formal model of 1959 to the wide-eyed smiling 'superstar Barbie of 1977. Other changes, influenced by social changes, are the introduction of 'Colored Francie' in 1967, as well as Barbie's black friends. 1980 saw the appearance of the afro with the introduction of 'Black Barbie' (Melosh and Simmons 1986:217).

As a criticism, Melosh and Simmons (1986:218) argue that the "...criticism of decorative femininity plays an indirect rather than explicit part in the presentation". They say that the texts assume that the viewer will see Barbie as outdated, which the authors state is an unwarranted assumption (Melosh and Simmons 1986:218). Secondly, the exhibit does not focus strongly enough on the idea that the children who own Barbies "...are not passive victims but creative users who respond variously to the messages about femininity and consumption" (Melosh and Simmons 1986:218). Some Barbies for instance, have been dressed up as cave women and have been adventurers who have rescued kidnapped children. The children have also handmade many of the Barbie clothes, for example the maternity dress. These findings were gleaned from a survey the curators did amongst children, yet the findings were not included in the exhibit (Melosh and Simmons 1986:218).

These exhibits, as mentioned before, show a change in the presentation of women and women's history. Although this change

to a focus on women is important, Melosh and Simmons' (1986) critique of each exhibit shows that there will always be an area which needs scrutiny, if we want to portray as many views of a particular story as possible. With "Black Women: Achievements Against the Odds", for instance, the private lives of these women would provide a clearer and multidimensional view of the people that Sojourner Truth and Rosa Parks were, while stating the femininity of Barbie would serve to provide the edge needed in the last exhibit. The designers therefore became complicit in perpetuating the Barbie image, through omission, but equally through misusing the Barbie history¹⁸.

The importance of this study, for the thesis, is the idea that a focus on women is not necessarily feminist, i.e. that when we engage in exploring women's lives, we should also seek to criticise the power relations in depictions of men and women, which allow women to be defined in terms of the "lesser sex". Secondly, Melosh and Simmons' work has shown that we must constantly be aware of the influence of the dominant ideology, the 'common sense', which may filter through to our work. In both the above cases for instance, the "Black women..." and the "Barbie" exhibits, as with the others, the ideologies of the curators influenced the exhibit, as an end product. But now, I turn to a separate issue but one that ties in to this one.

¹⁸ Excluding the fact that many Barbie clothes were made by the children, or that Barbie's femininity has been questioned by dressing her as a cave woman who rescues children.

Jones and Pay (1988:162), as well as Porter (1988:110-114) also acknowledge that acquisition policies add a dimension to the power of the curator in terms of choosing images they want to display.

To add to the problem, some objects or material culture do not survive the ravages of time which could mean that certain areas of the household are lost. Porter (1988:109) also raises an additional problem when she reminds her readers that a single object, for example a table, when it is found in a poor household, can perform different functions. For instance, it could be used for cooking, for eating meals, or function as a sewing table, and as a washtable, to name a few. Clothes, on the other hand, were worn until they were reduced to being used as patchwork or as rags. Considering the latter, I agree with Porter's (1988:110) conclusion that, "Thus, what remains for the museum to collect is unrepresentative of everyday existence"

Yet, this distortion of the everyday does not stop there. As Jones and Pay (1988:161) have argued, the presentations of societies and people in museums are "...necessarily distorted and incomplete, divorced from its original meaning by artificially created temporal and spatial contexts. Selection and juxtaposition within displays give objects new meaning" (See also Porter 1988:115). Gaby Porter (1988:110) devotes a part of her article to tackling exactly the selection processes or curatorial practices. She identifies as primary practices "identification and classification; fieldwork; recording and collecting;

interpretation and display". She names the classification system as the "...system of grouping large collections of objects according to type, use, maker, process, or other relevant category" (G Porter 1988:110). The two classification systems primarily used by social and history museums are MERL, developed by the museum of English Rural Life at Reading, and SHIC, called the Social History and Industrial Classification, developed by curators from different museums (G Porter 1988: 111). Although MERL and SHIC are the prevalent classificatory systems used, this does not preclude the use of other systems by museums in Great Britain, nor is MERL and SHIC necessarily used in museums outside of Great Britain.

Both MERL and SHIC revolve around spheres of use. Domestic life is separated from the other spheres and acts as an antithesis to working activity. SHIC's categories for instance are divided into community life, domestic and family life, personal and working life (G Porter 1988:111).

The domestic category, for instance, is grouped into food and drink; cleaning; furnishings and hobbies. What happens though, is that this category, being thus divided, makes it difficult to see the range of work done in the home as a conclusive whole (Porter 1988:111). Work done by a woman in the home, including childcare, becomes separated, the workload separated and thus the range minimized. Porter (1988:111) has also argued that because the classification system makes no distinction between paid and unpaid work done in the home, it thus "locates productive work

clearly outside the home" This ties in with the argument made before, when it was said that household equipment is seen as "obsolete gadgetry" rather than as work implements. The point should also be raised that these classification systems make gender invisible, and therefore curators' hands are tied when implementing the system.

Yet, from what Porter (1988:111) argues, one can conclude that an object does not necessarily fit into only one category in the classification system but that it could be seen as "...an article of production or as an article of consumption or use: for example a patchwork quilt is the work of one woman or a group of women and is also a bedcover" (Porter 1988:114). A classification system used in Sweden and the USA, provides enough flexibility for objects to be linked to different spheres. An example is the "Homes Pool" where "...socializing; playing; working in the home¹⁹; travel; buying and consuming" are all part of the one pool (Porter 1988:114).

I will now look at the South African situation. Unfortunately the sources I had investigated had not yielded any concrete evidence on classification systems. The closest find was an article by Hans Fransen (1972) called "Collecting of Cultural History Material" which has as its focus types of material collected, from where and from whom the materials can be collected, (as well as the pitfalls)²⁰. The paper does not deal directly with

¹⁹ Porter specifically makes use of the word "home" and not "house" because of its evocativeness.

Classification systems, but it is possible to glean information appropriate for this chapter.

Fransen (1972:1) divides the types of materials into four sections:

1. Fine Arts,
2. Applied Arts: furniture, ceramics, glass, silver, etc,
3. Utensils: domestic, agricultural, trades,
4. Pure History: written or pictorial documents.

For this paper, numbers 2 and 3 are important for it is with the exhibition of what is here called the applied arts and utensils that Porter is most concerned. If, for example, a curator acquires a piece of furniture, say, a table for its aesthetic rather than its functional properties, the table would be classified under Applied Arts rather than Utensils. The table then, would not be representative of housework, which it could have been under Utensils. Fransen (1972:1) seems to provide for such an eventuality when he says that furniture or clothes could belong to either numbers 2 or 3 "...according to whether the decorative or functional aspect predominates". Fransen (1972) does not, however, indicate how one would ascertain which feature is dominant. Similarly, Fransen (1972:1) notes that, "In group (3) even material that is purely functional can have a strong aesthetic appeal", and would therefore be exhibited as such.

²⁰ Due to the fact that my search yielded little information as to classification systems does not mean that the Fransen system is the only one in existence in South Africa, and we should not take this to be the epitome of the South African classification systems.

The test of Fransen's (1972) classification system, and whether it applies to the manner in which objects are placed within a classification system similar to MERL and SHIC can only really lie in looking at exhibitions themselves. Yet, I would argue at this stage that it is possible to use Fransen's (1972) system to extract some information pertaining to the classification system(s) for exhibitions or at least that it would influence such a system(s).

To go further, I draw on Helen Coxall's (1990) ideas on museum language. Coxall (1990) argues that biased presentation does not stem only from classification systems, but also the language used by curators when labelling objects or describing presentations. She wrote her doctoral thesis on museum language, that is, the language employed by a curator which reflects his or her bias, but equally that of the museum. Coxall (1990:16) grounds her argument on the idea that language is socially constructed, but that social structures are in turn produced by discourse. When children are born, our "system of communication, (our language) is already in existence (Coxall 1990:16). They learn the languages which "...appear to stand for value-free, common sense, ..." as for example the person who delivers the mail, becomes known as "postman" (Coxall 1990:16). She goes on to say that although it appears value-free, in actual fact, implicit in the name is the idea that all people who deliver mail are men - postman (Coxall 1990:16).

Coxall's (1990) point is that curators, in using language might unconsciously be articulating underlying ideologies. I say "might" because, as Coxall (1990:16) says, using a language does not mean that one cannot escape its underlying ideologies. As she says "But it does mean that we must become clear about what these underlying assumptions are if it is not our wish to perpetuate them" (Coxall 1990:17).

In this chapter I have dealt with gender and feminism as an issue of museum studies. I have done this by considering not the plainly theoretical field, but the practical implications of gender consciousness in museums - through discussion of classification systems, museum language, and by looking closely at a few exhibits which focus on women.

Chapter 2 and 3 are the basis on which this thesis is built. The Afrikaans Language museum, though, cannot only be discussed within the context of these paradigms. In the next section, then, I will be discussing issues of the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, as well as the history of the Afrikaans language.

Section 2

Chapter 5 - A history of the Afrikaans Language²¹

Writing a summary of the history of the Afrikaans language could be easy enough, especially if this history is condensed into a single work. Yet I find myself struggling with each new sentence, having started this chapter months before, and having restarted it a few times in between. Now I have realised the stumbling block that has prevented me from getting into the work - anger. A build up against the very system that I have been born into and been raised in. Against the power that a few hold, that enables them to eradicate people from a history and then mythologise that history. Yet, this anger will get buried as I recount the history of the language, for the means of clarity and as a basis for chapters to come. But even if the anger is not obvious, it is not obliterated.

This chapter deals with its topic very broadly because the history in itself is a thesis on its own. It is also precisely a thesis, that of L.T. du. Plessis, that I draw on greatly in this chapter, as Du Plessis' thesis consolidates a wide range of works

²¹ I have consciously not titled this chapter "A history of the Afrikaans Language Movements", as I am focusing on the language in this thesis, and because the museum portrays the history of the *language* and not the movements.

about Afrikaans. In this chapter I concentrate solely on those language movements²² that are portrayed in the language museum.

Du Plessis (1986) starts by making the statement that the history of the language was incorporated into that of the Afrikaner, and that this led to "unavoidable mythologising of both the global history and particularly that of the Afrikaans language. Unquestionably this mythologising happens within a particular ideological framework"²³ (Du Plessis 1986:1).

The study of Afrikaans can be divided into two distinct but interrelated areas. The first one concentrates on the origins of Afrikaans, and the second on the history of the language which leads to its eventual recognition as official language. Pertaining to the origins, H.J.J.M v.d. Merwe argues that there are three distinct routes. The first argues that Afrikaans spontaneously developed out of 17th century Dutch. The second argues that Afrikaans has its origin in the interaction between Dutch and foreign non-Germanic languages. The third route argues for a combination of the above two. There is not only argument about the origin of the language, but also the identification of the non-Germanic languages, with arguments for Hottentot

²² Du Plessis identifies five language movements, but I concentrate only on three.

²³ Lei tot die "onafwendbare mitologisering van beide die globale geskiedenis en in die besonder die van die Afrikaanse taalgeskiedenis. Uiteraard geskied die mitologisering binne 'n bepaalde ideologiese raamwerk."

language, as well as African and Malay-Portuguese. The arguments around the language are many, as portrayed in Dineke van der Zwan (1984:76) argument. She notes that although one of the traditional views of the history claims that Afrikaans emerged out of 17th century Dutch, Dutch itself was not a unified language, but was constructed from a set of dialects.

Van Rensburg (1981), again in Du Plessis (1986), claims that there were 3 important forms of Afrikaans in South Africa. These languages, according to him, were based on a variation of Dutch spoken before 1652 in the Netherlands and its colonies. The three forms he identifies as 1) East Rand-Afrikaans, 2) Cape-Afrikaans and 3) Orange River-Afrikaans. Both the Cape-, and Orange River-Afrikaans, he says, were influenced by the Hottentots (Khoi) who lived around the Cape area and the Orange River area.

When we look to the social arena, we find that according to Achmat Davids (1987:39) Afrikaans was acknowledged "...as the language of the 'non-whites' as early as the seventeenth century". Secondly, the home language of the colonists was also that of social interaction, and changed "...from Dutch in pronunciation, accent and syntax".

When we look to the historiography of Afrikaans, we find that it developed into the study of Afrikaans as a *language movement*. Traditionally the history of Afrikaans was studied in terms of

the desire to have Afrikaans recognised, first as a language of the same status as that of Dutch, and later as an official language. In terms of the latter, the First and Second Language movements were identified. Du Plessis (1986:10) cautions that two academics, Nienaber and Nienaber (1941) had previously objected to the use of the term **language** movement in describing this history and struggle in all instances. They, for instance, according to Du Plessis (1986), argued that Pannevis had started a **Bible translations movement** for the benefit of the upliftment of the 'coloured' community of the time, therefore this cannot be called a language movement, even though it was propagated as such in the press. The second problem they identified was that of assessing **when** a language movement comes to fruition, for example, when referring to the delineation between the first and second language movements. Du Plessis identifies a language movement as "...a movement for the promotion of a political (and)or religious ideal where the language is pertinently used as the manipulating factor."²⁴(Du Plessis 1986:8).

Du Plessis (1986:11) identifies five language movements, three of which are inspired by politics, and two by religion. These are

²⁴ "....'n beweging ter bevordering van 'n politieke (en)of godsdienstige ideaal waarby taal baie pertinent as die manipulerende taal gebruik word."

as follows;

1) Eastrand language movement(± 1861-1872)

This was used by Meurant to further the political
"Segregationist politics" of the Eastern Cape.

2) Malay-Afrikaans²⁵ language movement(± 1862-1957)

This was inspired through the Islamic religion. Abubakr Effendi used Malay-Afrikaans in Arabic orthography to further Islam in the Cape Moslem community.

3) Bibletranslation movement(± 1871-1875)

This was inspired by an ideal to translate the Bible for the coloured community, and later, for the poor whites.

4) The Afrikanerbond Movement(± 1880-1890)

This movement was initiated by the politics of the Afrikanerbond, as a platform to propagate their policies.

5) The Post-war language movement(± 1914 and after)

This was inspired by the politics of the National Party. Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner unity was propagated through the use of Afrikaans.

I will develop a critique of these movements at a later stage of this chapter.

²⁵ Du Plessis uses the term Maleier-Afrikaans(Malay-Afrikaans)while I prefer the term Moslem-Afrikaans. Malay is commonly used, because it indicates the decendency of the Moslem people.

Du Plessis (1986:13) discusses the above five language movements in relation to a proposal and an understanding of Standard Afrikaans.²⁶ He maintains that the Standard developed out of the Post War movement. He says that the East Rand variant was the basis of the standard, while the Cape and Orange River Afrikaans played influencing roles. He maintains that the stigma²⁷ that clung to Cape Afrikaans, resulted in the variant being more or less ignored. This creates the impression that the stigma that still clings to Cape Afrikaans has a historical past, and is not a relatively new addition.

East Rand Afrikaans movement

Between 1861-1872, East Rand Afrikaans was used as a political propaganda device by a man called Meurant. The East Rand had the political desire of separating from the Cape government, and getting out from under the West's economic dominance. On 6 April 1861 Meurant's²⁸ "Talk between Klaas the Soothsayer and Jan Doubtful", on the subject of a split between the East and West

²⁶ Standard Afrikaans is the spoken language as set out in the Afrikaanse Taal en Spelrëels (Afrikaans Language and Spelling rules).

²⁷ The stigma developed out of the notion that Afrikaans at the Cape, the Kaaps-Afrikaans, was then language of the black groupings, especially the slaves. It was thus seen as unsuitable to include it as an influence in standard Afrikaans.

²⁸ Meurant was the editor of the Dutch newspaper, "The Cape Border newspaper" (Het Kaapse Grensblad).

provinces"²⁹ was distributed. Not only was this political pamphlet written in Afrikaans, but two newspapers in the East Rand published letters on the split written in Afrikaans. The latter resulted in the growth of a trend where it was fashionable to write letters in Afrikaans (Du Plessis 1986:22). A year before the pamphlet was published, however, two other newspapers, "The South African"³⁰ and "The People's Paper"³¹, the two most important newspapers in the Cape at the time, were already regularly publishing letters written in Afrikaans.

Even though this talk prompted a host of letters in Afrikaans, Nienaber (1940:30) notes that the language that was used had been referred to by the "Graaf-Reinet Herald" of the time as Hottentot-Dutch. There can be no doubt that this was meant as derogatory, nor can one be mistaken that this comment was not, in terms of the debate, politically inspired. Meurant was waging a political battle through these talks. The talk was produced as a booklet and used a propaganda in favour of the segregation.

Du Plessis (1986:26) maintains that the movement is an indication that the combination between politics and language is a successful one, and that the failure of the segregation policies, can be attributed to the failure of standardising Afrikaans.

²⁹ "Zamenspraak tusschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfelaar, over de Oostelike en Westelike provincie"

³⁰ "De Zuid Afrikaan"

³¹ "Het Volksblad"

The Bible-translations movement

The traditional history of the Bible Translations movement and that of the Fellowship of True Afrikaners³² (GRA) has been based on a history as set out by S.J. du Toit, who maintained that the workings and happenings around the GRA should be seen as the First language movement (Du Plessis 1986:37). According to this understanding, the newspaper "Di Patriot", GRA publications, the establishment of the Afrikaner Bond in 1880, the Afrikaans language congresses of 1896 and 1897, and the 7 translated Bible books that appeared in 1893 and thereafter, were all attributed to the first language movement, and the GRA.

As I will show later, Du Plessis (1986) questions the traditional view of the GRA, as well as the successes attributed to the movement. Academics over the years, however, have followed diligently in the footsteps of S.J. du Toit, and have only differed on what the essence of the movement had meant. Du Plessis (1986:37) developed three categories that would describe the movement: 1) religious and/or, 2) political and /or, 3) "purely language orientated". Du Plessis (1986:38), maintains that a typical description of the language movement would accommodate all three categories, seeing it as a religious movement, which turned to a language-orientated and then political movement, that would eventually take on national proportions.

³² Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA)

The Bible translations movement had its beginnings in the years 1872 till 1878 when Pannevis expressed the desire to have the Bible translated into Afrikaans. His motives, according to Du Plessis (1986:40) were not for the eventual recognition of the language, but which, in Pannevis' own words could be described as "the spiritual health"³³ of the coloured people, and later the Afrikaans-speaking poor whites. Further indication that Pannevis was not interested in the language issue, is the fact that he referred to Afrikaans not as a language but as an Afrikaans-Dutch dialect, while he had also professed a faith that the English language would be the eventual language of South Africa (Du Plessis 1986:40). Pannevis extended his original idea to include the establishment of an Afrikaans-based education, though the translation of the Bible would still have preference. The choice for Afrikaans was influenced by the fact that Afrikaans was spoken by the majority of the people he wanted to reach, and equally because Dutch and English had become inaccessible to these people (Du Plessis 1986:42).

Pannevis had set out the original idea of a body such as the GRA in a letter dated 4 November 1874, a year before its establishment. The letter was signed "O", but can be claimed with certainty to be that of Pannevis (Du Plessis 1986:43). The GRA in essence, was to develop a set of spelling rules and a dictionary of Afrikaans so that the language could be made sufficient for the translation of the Bible. The reason being

³³ "het geestlijk heil"

that the British and Foreign Bible Association³⁴ (BBBG) had set up certain demands and regulations before they could agree to the translations. For instance, they wanted facts about the demography of Afrikaans, the grade of standardisation, and its use in the education system, as well as the availability of translators (Du Plessis 1986:47).

Concerning the history of the GRA itself, Du Plessis(1986:43) argues that there are distinct discrepancies between the conventional descriptions of the GRA, and the chronology he proposes. Du Plessis's chronology starts with the plea in the newspapers by Pannevis that the Bible be translated into Afrikaans. This culminates in the writing of a letter to the BBBG in which Pannevis requested the organisation to investigate the possibility and viability of such a translation. The BBBG agent, a priest, Mr Morgan, who investigated the request held a meeting with the minister's conference at Wellington in the Boland. Either before or after this meeting, S.J.du Toit met with Mr Morgan, after which Du Toit proposed to gather all those in favour of a translation of the Bible into Afrikaans.

This meeting took place on 14 August 1875, when the decision was made to establish an organisation which would communicate with Morgan. This is the day on which conventional history claims the GRA was established. A meeting for the supporters of the translation of the Bible took place on 25 September 1875, on which day the GRA was established, and not as conventional

³⁴ Britse en Buitelandse Bybel-genootskap.

history claims, 14 August of the same year. At this meeting, it was decided not to pursue the communication with the BBBG, the reason being that this organisation's demands were regarded as unreasonable. For the next three years the GRA was busy with the promotion of Afrikaans, with an aim to educate the public towards such a translation (Du Plessis 1986:44;47). The organisation disbanded in 1878 (Du Plessis 1986:44). Du Toit claims that the GRA met once more, in 1884 to discuss whether the organisation would disband or pursue the translation of the Bible. Du Plessis (1986:44) argues that the GRA was, however, replaced by the Bible translations commission in 1878, which held their first meeting in 1884. The real work of translation only started in 1890, under the supervision of S.J. du Toit, and in 1893, the book of Genesis appeared, 18 years after the establishment of the GRA.

The pinnacle of the Bible translations movement was the appearance of the newspaper, the Patriot in 1876. The Patriot is usually coupled to the success of the GRA, but Du Plessis (1986:46) shows that the newspaper actually experienced a growth after the disbanding of the organisation. It seems then that the Afrikanerbond and not the GRA should be accredited with the success of the newspaper. The reason for the failure of the Bible translation movement and the GRA, had its beginnings when it decided to concentrate on the promotion of Afrikaans rather than the translation of the Bible.

The Afrikanerbond movement

According to Du Plessis (1986:51) this failure of the GRA led directly to the beginnings of the Afrikanerbond as a political organisation. Du Plessis quotes S.J. du Toit as saying that the GRA was too focused on the language issue to accomplish political ideals that might have united the people. Therefore the Afrikanerbond was brought into being to set the political ideals of, in particular, Du Toit, in motion.

These ideals incorporated:

1. access to the political sphere by ousting those who were seen as enemies of the land out of the council chamber.
2. encouraging a feeling of nationality that may in turn benefit economic life of the land.
3. An ideal of an United South Africa where all Afrikaners could feel at home and feel safe. To the Afrikanerbond "Afrikaners" were

"...all that acknowledged Africa as their Fatherland, that live and work as brothers of one house, even if they be of English, Dutch, French or German ancestry, with the exception of those who speak of England as their home, or the Netherlands, or Germany as their 'Fatherland' and that come to fill their coffers with the Afrikaans riches to go and devour it in Europe..."

(Du Plessis 1986:52).³⁵

³⁵ "...almal wat Afrika erken as hulle Vaderland, same woon en werk as broers van één huis, al is hulle van Engelse, Hollandse, of Duitse afkoms, met uitsluiting van die wat van Engeland praat as hulle 'home' of van Holland en Duitsland as hulle 'Vaderland' en wat hier net hulle beurs wil vul met Afrikaanse welvaart, om

point should be to expose the evil in all areas, and to fight"³⁷ (Du Toit 1917:119 in Du Plessis 1986:56).

The Afrikanerbond was an organisation aimed directly at creating a feeling of nationality amongst the Afrikaner; to bind the "people" of the land under the banner of homogeny. The cultural, economic, religious, and education spheres were thus bound together for this purpose.

For this purpose the Afrikanerbond could make use of the 'Patriot' and 'Di Afrikaner Bond' to propagate their ideals. Du Plessis (1986:57), for instance, maintains that it was the political language of the 'Patriot' that sold the newspapers. It spoke to the people about politics in a language they themselves used, and so generated discussion. To demonstrate the ties between the Patriot and the Afrikaans language, it is interesting to note that the newspaper held this sentence "Afrikaans...is undoubtedly the language that is spoken by the masses of our community"³⁸ (Patriot 20/6/1882 in Du Plessis 1986:57). This sentence itself is a piece of propaganda, but also gives insight to the idea that most of the people spoke some variant of Afrikaans. One should keep in mind that the masses in the above sentence most probably excludes black people of the community. Two months after Dutch became an official language, the Bond

³⁷ "Engelse en Engelsgesindheid word deur niks so erg verspreid as deur di Engelse koerante en tydskrifte; en di grote gros van Afrikaners bevorder nog sulke koerante deur daarin te adverteer, daarvoor in te teken, ens. Ons doel moet wees om di kwaad op alle punte bloot te lê en te bestry"

³⁸ Afrikaans...is onteenseglik die taal wat deur die massa van ons bevolking gesproke word.

produced a Dutch monthly journal with the name 'De Tolk'. from this it one can deduce that the promotion of Afrikaans was not the focus of the Bond, because Dutch was also used as a propaganda tool to get political ideals across (see Du Plessis 1986:58-59).

The first branch of the Afrikaner Bond was established on 16 June 1880 on the farm Rooidam in Hopetown. The same year the number increased to 12, while by 1882 there was a total of 152 branches. The success of the Afrikanerbond is evident when it is considered that the organisation spread its wings to the Eastern Border and the Boere Republics around 1880. In 1883 the Afrikaner Bond and the South African Farmers' Protection Association³⁹ (ZABBV) united. The ZABBV was a movement of Dutch speaking Cape farmers under the leadership of Jan Hofmeyr. The organisation aimed at obtaining tariff policies that would be more favourable to the wine producers, and grain farmers of the Cape. Alongside this, they also fought for the improved status of the Dutch language (Omer-Cooper 1988:134).

Successes, other than the spread of the organisation nationally, was the growth of the newspaper The Patriot. Du Plessis (1986:63), maintains that as the official mouthpiece of the organisation, it was the politics of the newspaper and organisation that sold it, and not purely that fact that the contents were written in Afrikaans. On the economic front, the Bond established Afrikaner shops such as the 'Philipstown

³⁹ Zuid Afrikaansche Boere Beskeremings Vereniging (ZABBV)

Handelsmaatschappij' and shops in Petrusville, Middelburg, Sutherland and the Albert district and two Afrikaans banks, one in Hopetown and one in the Stellenbosch district (Du Plessis 1986:64). They also established an Afrikaans school was established at Daljosafat, named Gedenkschool der Hugenoten⁴⁰, which became a state school in 1895.

The failure of the Afrikaner Bond in the Cape lies in the fact that after the merging with the ZABBV, Du Toit's authority began to wane. Hofmeyr, who was the leader of the ZABBV, initiated a programme whereby Dutch, and not Afrikaans was promoted. This effectively stifled those very ideals that the Afrikaner Bond was meant to uphold. Politically too, the Bond, under Hofmeyr⁴¹, gave its support to English-speaking leaders, rather than building up a government of its own, even though the Bond had enough seats in the Cape parliament to make its support⁴² to any government of importance (Omer-Cooper 1988: 135). In the Boer republic, the Bond's influence began to wane as the ideals of the Afrikaner, as seen by the Bond, were already in existence there. In Transvaal, the movement became too closely associated with the President's, Paul Kruger's, main political rival at the time, Piet Joubert (Omer-Cooper 1988: 134). In the Eastern Cape, too,

⁴⁰ This name means "in memory of the Huguenots".

⁴¹ S.J. Du Toit, who was leading the Bond became Director of Education in Transvaal.

⁴² Cecil John Rhodes, as Prime Minister of the Cape (around 1890), actively campaigned for the support of the Bond, by serving their interests. For instance, he gave support to measures which would be favourable to Cape farmers, and took a stand in favour of reducing non-white voting rights.

the Bond's influence died, as Boereorganisations had already been established in this area.

The important note for this chapter though, is the fact that as a language movement, the Afrikaner Bond movement failed. In the Cape the Bond had political influence, yet this was not used to argue for the improved status of Afrikaans. As I mentioned before, under Hofmeyr, the language rights of Dutch, rather than Afrikaans was pursued. Hofmeyr even preferred the use of Dutch as the language medium in communicating the ideals of the Bond (Du Plessis 1986:66).

The Post-war Language movement

Traditionally this language movement has been seen as the Second Language Movement, incorporating the Afrikaans Language League (ATG)⁴³ in the North, and the Afrikaans Language Association (ATV)⁴⁴ in the South (Du Plessis 1986:69). These movements focused on the spread and encouragement of a pure Afrikaans. Yet, Du Plessis (1986:70) says that these language organisations did not propagate the acknowledgement of Afrikaans as an official language. The ATV for instance, retained some Dutch sentiment, as it called for education in Dutch, the recognition of the official status of the language by the municipalities and the divisional councils, and the idea that no person be admitted to governmental positions without at least a minimal knowledge of Dutch (Du Plessis 1986:70). Further evidence that the Second

⁴³ Afrikaans Taalgenootskap (ATG)

⁴⁴ Afrikaans Taalvereniging (ATV)

Language movement was not a language movement *per se*, is evident when it is considered that the propagation of Afrikaans as an official language gained its momentum as the political ideals of organisations became more pronounced. According to Du Plessis (1986:71) the political and the cultural spheres of the organisations began fusing around 1914, which is also the year the National Party (NP) was established.

The Union of South Africa was established in 1910, and was ruled by the South African National party under General Louis Botha, with Jan Smuts as the deputy. The party soon underwent internal tensions, fused around the issue of the Union remaining within the British empire, and the fusing of the two white races in South Africa. J.M.B. Hertzog, the Minister of Justice in the Union, split with the South African Party in 1913 and formed the NP. His belief was that, even though he believed in the fusing of the two white races, that this would lead to an eventual dilution of the Afrikaner Language and culture . Secondly, the Botha-Smuts alliance with the British empire was too close to comfort for the young Union (Omer-Cooper 1988:160).

After 1914, Afrikaans was used explicitly to further and spread the Afrikaner ideals by its leaders, such as Hertzog. It must be remembered that Hertzog made use of northern Afrikaans, and that I am not here referring to the standard form. In broadening his political ideals, Hertzog also had a hand in the establishment of the South African Academy for Language, Literature and the

Arts⁴⁵(Academy for short). Du Plessis (1986:73) has noted that it is exactly this incident that has led to the view of Hertzog as a hero of the Afrikaans language struggle. He was however, first and foremost, a politician who was also very conscious of the political clout he would be able to muster if he invested his time and energy into the language question. He had for instance at some stage declared, "Language was a powerful force to build and strengthen one nation".⁴⁶

Initially, Hertzog used what he termed "Hollands"⁴⁷ to draw the Afrikaners together. The extent of Hertzog's political prowess is discernable in the fact that he proposed this term, which incorporates both Dutch and Afrikaans, to unite those in favour of Simplified Dutch Spelling (VNS)⁴⁸ and those in favour of Afrikaans (Du Plessis 1986:74). When "Hollands" was made an official language in 1925 alongside English, this of course benefited Afrikaans. But it was Afrikaans that became the sole language to fuse the nation. The reason, says Du Plessis (1986:74), is because Dutch could no longer be a national language. Dutch had become inaccessible, and most people spoke Afrikaans.

⁴⁵ Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Taal, Lettere en Kuns. (Akademie)

⁴⁶ "(De) taal was een machtige faktor om een volk op te bouwen en groot te maken."

⁴⁷ "Hollands" is the term which is given to a variant of Dutch.

⁴⁸ Vereenvoudigde Nederlandse Spelling. (VNS) The VNS aimed at bringing Dutch as close to Afrikaans as possible so that even Afrikaans words and phrases would be included (Du Plessis 1986:74).

The National Party, for instance, accepted Afrikaans as their national language in 1917, three years after their establishment. Here we should note that, after the First World War, a group of teachers and white collar workers came together to establish an organisation called Young South Africa⁴⁹ which later became developed into a secret society called the Broederbond. Their purpose being the preservation of the Afrikaner language and culture. Afrikaner nationalism, having found its voice in the NP, argued for the equal rights of the language, because the party had accepted it as its national language (Du Plessis 1986:74). Therefore a triumph for the party would automatically mean a triumph for the language, while the language drew and strengthened the mass migration to the NP.

Du Plessis (1986:75) gives two examples of the latter. He quotes Steyn who argues that the 1912 Rebellion and the 1922 Mine Strike did much to strengthen Afrikaner nationalism, in turn the NP, and in turn the Afrikaans language. The Rebellion was the result of Afrikaner outrage against being called to assist the British Empire, who was seen as the cause of the collapse of the republics, in the war effort. Generals in the armed forces, as well as the well respected Boer general, J.H. de la Rey, rose against the government. De La Rey, on a mission to gain support under the public in western Transvaal, was shot after failing to stop at a roadblock, set up to recapture criminals who had escaped. This led to armed resistance throughout the country. Botha, after trying to negotiate with the leaders, crushed the

⁴⁹ Jong Suid Afrika

rebellion by force (Omer-Cooper 1988:166). Out of the Rebellion emerged strengthened Afrikaner sentiment, and especially support for the NP.

The 1922 strike emerged out of an intention by the Chamber of mines to abandon an agreement it made with white mine workers by which it would secure the jobs of white miners off to war. Effectively this meant not handing over these jobs to coloured and black miners. Because of various economic factors, the chamber of mines sought to employ these black workers at lower wages. In January 1922 the white workers launched a strike, which by March had deteriorated to open revolt and violence. When the miners took control of the Rand, the strike was crushed by force. The 1922 Strike led to the defeat of the ruling party by a coalition between the Labour Party (Arbeiders Party) and the NP, as many of these now unemployed were Afrikaners. This led to (in 1925), that Afrikaans became an official language alongside English.

The Post war language movement therefore was the movement which led not only to the eventual acknowledgement of Afrikaans as official language, but importantly the standardisation of Afrikaans. In 1915, for instance, the Academy for Literature and Arts produced a list of rules for Afrikaans, and in 1917⁵⁰ the first Afrikaans Wordlist and Spellingrules⁵¹ was published.

⁵⁰ This was also the year Afrikaans became the official language of the NP.

⁵¹ Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls

According to Du Plessis (1986:75) this can then be termed the only successful language movement.

In this chapter I have given an overview of the history of the officialisation of Afrikaans, by focusing on ideas espoused by L.T. du Plessis (1986). Through his work I have shown that the conventional history of the language separates into a First and Second language movement, the former focusing on the GRA. The GRA, according to this history, is credited with the successes with sales and popularity of the newspaper Di Patriot, as well as the operations of the Afrikanerbond. Du Plessis (1986), however, separates out these two instances, and creates two separate language movements, a Bible translation, and Afrikanerbond movement.

A second important issue, is the idea that the eventual recognition of Afrikaans as an official language, goes hand in hand with the successful rise to power of the National Party. Afrikaans then, whatever its beginnings, acquired a distinctly political shadow, as the official language of the N.P. It is therefore important to discuss this rise of Afrikanerdom, so closely linked to the language and the N.P., before a discussion of the museum can be ventured into. This is then what I will deal with in my next chapter.

Section 2

Chapter 6: Discussion of Afrikaner Nationalism

Benedict Anderson (1991:11) believes that the idea of nationalism, and its expression, arose in the 18th century, with the decline of "... religious modes of thought", which means that 'nationalism', as an idea is a very recent phenomena. In discussing a definition of nation, nationality, nationalist, he concludes, before even starting, that these words, or rather the ideas they describe, have been "notoriously difficult to define...", because of their(its) ambiguous nature (Anderson 1991:3-4). However, he proposes a definition of nation as "...an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *limited* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion". "The nation is *imagined* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations". "It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm". "Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and

exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1991:6-7). In an article for 'Die Vrye Weekblad'⁵² (The Free newspaper), (10-16 Jan 1992) Max du Preez commented about the Afrikaans Taal Monument (Afrikaans Language monument), "A Boer-Stonehenge to commemorate Apartheid?"⁵³ Du Preez's (Jan 1992) article touches a variety of nuances concerning the monument, but one, that for me, sums it up, is his following comment, "It is not so much about the language than about Afrikaner-nationalism. The monument tries to express the idea that Afrikaans, as a language, is a symbol of the Afrikaner state that was been formed".⁵⁴ And in articles on the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism, Isabel Hofmeyr (1987), Herman Gilliomee (1983; 1987), Colin Bundy (1987), John Sharp (1988) and Steyn (1987) draw on the same idea, i.e. that symbols to Afrikaner nationalism were actively created in the making of an Afrikanerdom. Steyn (1987:73) for instance, quotes Joshua Fishman who calls nationalism "...conscious mobilised ethnicity..."⁵⁵ They argue that these symbols were a way of solidifying the idea of an Afrikaner and Afrikaner nationalism.

⁵² 'Die Vrye Weekblad' is an alternative Afrikaans newspaper that appears every two weeks.

⁵³ "'n Boere-Stonehenge om Apartheid te herdenk?"

⁵⁴ "Dit gaan nie soveel oor die taal nie, as oor Afrikaner-nationalisme. Die monument wil sê die taal Afrikaans is die simbool van die Afrikaner staat wat gestig is."

⁵⁵ "...bewuste, gemobiliseerde etnisiteit...."

Isabel Hofmeyr (1987), in her article, "Building a nation from words: Afrikaans language, literature and ethnic identity, 1902-1924", argues that literature on the history of Afrikaans has centred on a set of ideas which, rooted in an "Afrikaner identity, unites all Afrikaners⁵⁶ into a monolithic volk" She argues, however, that, as recent literature has debated, nations "...are almost invariably artificial and manufactured categories which can be unmasked as historically contingent" (Hofmeyr 1987:95). Gilliom (1983;1987), Bundy (1987), Sharp (1988) and Steyn (1987) all echo Hofmeyr's (1987) argument, and in their articles delve into the socio-political situations that might have given rise to the idea of an Afrikaner volk, thus subverting the idea of a God-given nation.

All these ideas have implications for the idea of a unified Afrikanerdom, and imply that the latter idea can be analyzed to discover its formation. This latter idea rings true, but yet there is another crucial element to be found when we further study Anderson's (1991) idea of a nation. We will find a crucial idea which separates his notion of nation from that of the other

⁵⁶ There have been debates about what or whom an "Afrikaner" is. According to Du Toit (1987:63) academics have acted in a limiting manner in designating whom the Afrikaners are/were, by asking only specific questions related to Afrikaners. For instance, according to him not all Afrikaners had the same ideas about language and nationalism in the 1870's. However, if one did not stand in favour of Afrikaans, this does not mean that that person did/does not see him- or herself as an Afrikaner. Steyn (1987:74) argues that the word "Afrikaner" has acquired 3 meanings in the 20th century:

1. Afrikaans and English speaking whites who saw South Africa as their home, even if they immigrated from, England or France or Germany.
2. The white Afrikaans speakers
3. Coloured and white Afrikaans speakers

historians I have mentioned. To explain the difference, I will quote an example given by Anderson. He quotes Gellner as saying that "'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist'". But Anderson (1991:6) cautions that, "The drawback to this formulation, however, is that Gellner is so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences, that he assimilates 'invention' to 'fabrication' and 'falsity', rather than to 'imagining' and 'creation'".

When we turn to Du Preez (1992) and Hofmeyr (1987), we find that both use words such as 'formation', 'manufacture', and 'unites all Afrikaners into a monolithic volk'⁵⁷. Implying that individual Afrikaners do exist, and gathered/formed, into the political grouping called the Afrikaners, when the "...awakening of (the) nation(s) to selfconsciousness..." to use Gellner's words. While Anderson's (1991:6) emphasis rests in the fact that these people *imagine* themselves to be Afrikaners, for as he says, "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined". Thus what will be traced in this chapter is the rise of the Afrikaner, through the imaginings of a people which presents the idea of a limited, sovereign community.

I will now follow by tracing the rise of the Afrikaner. By 1800, the Cape could roughly be divided into a map based on social class, and linguistics. The upper and middle class spoke English,

⁵⁷ My emphasis

including wealthy Dutch families who commanded, and according to Hofmeyr (1987:96), manipulated, a variety of linguistic registers. Included were High Dutch; informal discourse; and "...a language for servants, workers and farm labourers" (Hofmeyr 1987:96). It is this language, called a variety of names⁵⁸ and which to Hofmeyr (1987:97) points to "...a strong association with poorness and 'colourdness'", which was the emergent Afrikaans language. Important, is the idea that the people at the Cape were separated on social basis and that Hofmeyr (1987) does not comment on an ethnic⁵⁹ feeling existent at the Cape at this time.

Turning to the economy, Gilliomee (1987:116) writes that pre-1870, South Africa was dominated by the production of food and secondary agricultural products. This implies that the "...relative absence of industry meant that there was little demand for universal literacy or a standardized language in which members of society could communicate with one another, follow the instructions of their occupations and do business" (Gilliomee 1987:116). He argues that the neglect of Dutch in the public sector did not therefore become a political issue, while there was no reason why people would not regard the language in anything but "...instrumental terms". Referring back to footnote 5 we remember that Du Toit (1987:63) writes that by the 1870's there were separate groups with differing ideas on nationalism

⁵⁸ 'hotnotstaal' (Hottentot language); 'griekwataal' (Grigua language); 'kombuistaal' (kitchen language); 'plattaal' (vulgarlanguage) and 'brabbeltaal' (patois/lingo).

⁵⁹ Here 'ethnic' means racial.

and language: 1. those in favour of Afrikaans; 2. those supporting Dutch; 3. and those endorsing English.

In his 1983 article, called "Constructing Afrikaner Nationalism", Gilliomee does state though that "By 1850 the Afrikaners had come to regard themselves, to a considerable extent, as a separate group by virtue of intermarriage, language, customs and shared historical memories." Yet, he states, as he does in his later article, that the Afrikaners, at this stage, were not aware of themselves as a nation nor as "...a distinct political group" (Gilliomee 1983:83). He argues that contact or interaction with the English in the Southwestern Cape worked against a cultural intergrouping in this region, while rivalry between the Cape Colony and Transvaal prevented "...the development of an Afrikanerhood that transcended political boundaries" (Gilliomee 1983:83; See also J Sharp 1988:84). Steyn (1989:78) too argues that "Before ± 1870, they (the Afrikaners) were neither politically aware, nor of themselves as a nation".⁶⁰ Neither was there any resistance against Anglicization. This, he says, (as does Gilliomee), that South Africa was still a country with agriculture as its main mode of subsistence, and thus the economic incentive necessary for the start of a national movement was missing.

Furthermore, the Afrikaners at the Cape were characterized by great political apathy. Gilliomee (1987:118) for instance quotes

⁶⁰ "Voor omstreeks 1870 was hulle nòg politiek-, nòg nasionaalbewus."

an example where a canvasser in 1869 discovered that nine-tenths of the young farmers under the age of twenty-six had not even registered as voters. An attempt at political mobilization in 1878 for instance was met with hostility. The background context as well as the result of the apathy, was that elections were won by the same individuals, influential men who, "...made certain that their tenants, clients, debtors and other dependants voted according to their instructions" (Gilliomee 1987:118). Secondly, parliament did not touch the lives of the people, but remained in a sphere remote from them.

By the 1870's, however, there existed a surplus of educated men at the Cape, due largely to British domination of commerce and the government. Imperialism was forcing the Dutch Intelligentsia to congregate in the church, school and journalism, as these professions "...cushioned them from the more irritating aspects of discrimination" (Hofmeyr 1987:97). Bundy (1987:64), talking about Imperialism, writes that it "...not only spreads capitalism, but does so in a highly uneven way; it simultaneously holds out the promise of modernisation and highlights the handicap of backwardness" (See also Sharp 1988:88). Gilliomee (1987:117) contends that it is this group of people, the educated intelligentsia, who are "...most active in trying to revive and transform dormant ethnic ties and sentiments into a movement of national unity and statehood (See also Steyn 1989:77). He argues that this group of educated intellectuals, whom he calls the "secular intellectuals" had not emerged in the pre-1870's because of the particular structure of political power in South Africa

(Gilliomee 1987:117). He contends that both in the Cape Colony and Boer Republics' regional authorities paid little respect to the government power and Pretoria respectively⁶¹. At the Cape, for instance, the power was concentrated at Cape Town while in the Transvaal "...influence of regional leaders was too strong and the interest of the regions too diffuse for any national cohesion to develop" (Gilliomee 1987:117).

The Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Fellowship of True Afrikaners) had, according to Hofmeyr (1987:97) emerged out of this group of Dutch elite. They, like the farmers, the emerging mining capitalists and merchant interests, were being jostled into new alliances as new constitutional changes emerged. Initially the GRA gained support from Jan Hofmeyr and his organisation, the South African Farmers Protection Organisation⁶². But as both Isabel Hofmeyr (1987:98) and Gilliomee (1987:124) show, Onze Jan Hofmeyr soon ousted S.J. du Toit and the GRA to take over the Afrikaner Bond. Hofmeyr (1987:98) also refers to the fact that the BBV apparently had little regard for S.J. du Toit's scheme of promoting Afrikaans "...above the glories of Dutch".

Yet, as Hofmeyr (1987:98) shows, the GRA's newspaper, the Patriot, did sell, and sell well, making it the second best selling Dutch newspaper. The people who were buying the paper

⁶¹ The second British occupation started in 1806, while the South African Republic was established in 1856 with Pretoria as the capital.

⁶² Zuid -Afrikaansche Boeren Beschermings Vereniging (BBBV).

were, according to the GRA, the rural Afrikaans underprivileged. But according to Hofmeyr (1987:98), they were most probably what she names the "'genteel poor'", the certified teachers, clerics, shopkeepers and traders. For, she argues, one third of white children in the Cape, throughout the years of the Patriot being published, had never gone to school (Hofmeyr 1987:98; See also Gilliomme 1987:124). Some of the other projects of the GRA, were their ideal to set up Afrikaner banks, their call for the boycott of 'foreign' (English) traders and funds for Dutch education. Their successes, or rather consequences of the establishment of the GRA, were the setting up of cultural organisations, debating societies, and a conference on language, which according to Hofmeyr (1987:98) would "...give the issue of Afrikaans some institutional visibility". These activities have popularly been termed the First Language Movement (See also Du Plessis 1986:9) which, as Hofmeyr (1987:98) correctly states, implies a sense of unity or cohesion but which did not really exist⁶³.

According to Hofmeyr (1987:99) the North could roughly be divided into three groups "...the landed notables, those with tenuous land rights and the entirely landless". The landowners had considerable power over their tenants⁶⁴ (bywoners) using their positions as church officials, or as wealthy relations to acquire the subordination of the tenants. On the other hand, the smaller

⁶³ See Du Plessis (1986:9) for a critique on the term First Language Movement.

⁶⁴ The rich landowners obtained land (and with that the tenants) when land prices rose considerably due to the introduction of mining into the Transvaal.

farmers, finding themselves positioned between the landed and the landless, manipulated their position to "...glean smaller pickings of government office..." while exacting rent from their tenants (Hofmeyr 1987:99). The war forced the division between the landed and landless to widen, with some of the tenants refusing to serve in the commandos. Even after the war, the rift solidified, when the landed notables began to "...reconstitute themselves often at the direct expense of the bywoners whom many landlords refused to take back" (Hofmeyr 1987:100). The break-up of social relations was further compounded by the movement of mostly young men and women into the city to seek work. Once there, they found themselves in a position to question the authority of their fathers, leading many, especially the "...middle class moral brokers..." to lament the disintegration of the family.

In the political sphere, the introduction of gold mining, which shifted the economic point of concentration to the Transvaal, drew the Free State away from the Cape (Gilliomee 1987:128). As a result, nationalist feelings among burghers were increasing, although many still resented the Cape Afrikaners filling the civil service. With the nationalist feelings growing, however, a tendency was beginning to develop to divide between those supporting Afrikaner republicanism on the one hand, or British Imperialism on the other. The burghers themselves were divided in two groups, Paul Kruger and followers who were arguing against alliances which would cause them to compromise on the republican state, on the one hand; and the 'progressives' on the other, who

were willing to regard "... 'patriotic' Uitlanders" as burghers and Afrikaners (Gilliomee 1987:128).

The war, too, effectively changed the face of politics in Transvaal, with the introduction of a new breed of leaders. They were successful professionally, militarily, and in agriculture, as they came from the group of wealthy landowners. It is interesting to note this, especially in the light of Hofmeyr's (1987) analysis of the rift between the landed and the landless, and what this means as a change in social stratification. These men saw their task as that of "... building an ethnic political base..." in a country where the Afrikaners constituted one-half of the white population, and a third of the voting mass. In the Cape too, a Dutch-Afrikaner political movement emerged, due to what Gilliomee (1987:130) sees as

- 1) growing state revenue;
- 2) relative lack of progress of wine and wheat farmers;
- 3) advent of responsible government, which all led to a growing political awareness.

Important to note, is the idea that at the Cape, politics were beginning to develop along the lines of differences between farmers and merchants. The farmers demanded protection and aid from the state, while the merchants fought such protection, "...under the banner of free trade and promoting liberal approach with respect to colour issues" (Gilliomee 1987:130). But the important issue to note, is that it was easy to define the concerns of the farmers as Afrikaner concerns because "...this cleavage within the Western Cape corresponded fairly closely with

the ethnic cleavage within the white group" (Gilliomee 1987:130). If all of the above was facilitating a context for nationalism to develop, so too would the spread of capitalism, in particular, the effect it generates on those who become aware of backwardness "...and by their desire for full participation in a modern economy" (Gilliomee 1987:131). Gilliomee (1987) shows that in the OFS, the Transvaal and the Cape, the hardships of the farmers and the Afrikaner workers prompted and encouraged them to embark upon ethnic politics.

Regarding the Afrikaans language itself, the developments which facilitated the Second Language Movement were well under way. One of the factors which facilitated this rise, was Milner's Anglicization schemes for education, which was implemented after the war. Some Dutch-Afrikaans teachers, in an attempt to fight back, banded together as the Christian National Education schools (Christelike Nasionale Onderwys CNO). Gilliomee (1987:137) gives the issue of the CNO schools another dimension, when he remarks that the education level of the poor whites had become a serious issue among the "language manipulators"⁶⁵ and the bourgeois middle class who felt that it had played a factor in jeopardising white domination. Yet, in the Transvaal, the Het Volk party refused funds to the CNO schools while Smuts' election campaign called for compulsory school in English and not Dutch (Hofmeyr 1987:102; Gilliomee 1987:138).

⁶⁵ These were "...members of professions whose livelihood depended upon mastery of a certain language" (Gilliomee 1987:137).

Hofmeyr (1987:102) maintains that "...slighted in this way, the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie had to look elsewhere for support". And the support lay in the direction of the populace. The middle class, according to Hofmeyr (1987:103), needed the populace as an audience "...that could turn language and education broking into a new professional avenue for a group of people who feared marginalisation". These events, however, are what historians and language theorists have called the Second Language Movement. Gustav Preller wrote a series of articles centring upon the issue of the Afrikaans language, in which he argued that Afrikaans should be adopted as a "... professional, written discourse" (Hofmeyr 1987:104). The argument that it should be a 'professional' language requires engaging in two tasks. As Hofmeyr (1987:104) writes

"The first of these was to make Afrikaans respectable, to reinvent⁶⁶ it as a standard language, '*n algemeen beskaafde taal* (a standard language). To accomplish this aim one had to shake off the very strong associations of poverty and particularly 'colourdness' which clung to the language. The second task entailed giving the language some substance by creating books and written material in Afrikaans."

Hofmeyr (1987:105) shows how the stigmatization⁶⁷ was eradicated and worked against, with the reinvention of the language.

⁶⁶ My emphasis.

⁶⁷ It is important to ask when the "... 'colourdness' which clung to the language" became a stigma, as surely a stigma is not a given but produced in the light of political motives.

Preller's newspaper, De Volkstem, for instance, carried a series of articles, one called "Language and Selfrespect" (Taal en selfrespek), while subsequent articles dealt with equating the language struggle to those in Flanders, Quebec, Wales and Ireland, or drew links with and emphasised the relationship to Dutch. This is important, because, as Hofmeyr (1987:105) states, it made Afrikaans "... 'a white man's language', and gave it an entrée via Dutch into that font of civilization, the Greco-Roman tradition."

Five years before the formation of the Union, proponents of Afrikaans in the north came together as the "Afrikaans Language Society" (Afrikaans Taalgenootskap) (ATG). In the south, a similar group united under the name of the "Afrikaans Language Union" (Afrikaanse Taalvereniging) (ATV) in 1906. According to Hofmeyr (1987:105), the southern grouping had a more positive response towards their formation than the north, as Preller and Marais were seen as to be from "dubious peasant background..." which made the organisation, led by Preller, out of bounds. But it was after 1910 that both the ATG and the ATV came into their own right. Preller's ATG produced a magazine called "Die Brandwag" which facilitated communication between the constituents of the ATG and ATV which were being united by related organisations. By 1914 a ruling was passed by the provincial councils which allowed Afrikaans to be taught up to standard 4.

Hofmeyr (1987:107) argues that political developments post-Union formation provided a positive impetus on the language issue. The developments themselves, affected the unity of the young union, for example, the formation of the National Party in 1914 as a split from the South African National Party.⁶⁸ Secondly, it became increasingly suspected that the ruling SAP were being controlled by the mine magnates (Hofmeyr 1987:107). Strikes which were undertaken by the miners in 1913 and spilled over into 1914, were bitterly crushed in that year when the national army was called in. Smuts had the mineworker leaders deported, without referring the matter to the courts or parliament. Any political repercussions were, though, overtaken by the outbreak of the First World War (Omer-Cooper 1987:164-165).

The war itself proved to create a stratum on which the Afrikaans lobbyists found fertile ground. The central issue, which had many related consequences, was participation in the war on the side of the British Imperial forces. Many nationalist Afrikaners were outraged at this possibility, and sided with Commander-in-chief Gen. C. F. Beyers, and officers S. G. Maritz and Gen. Jan Kemp in voicing their dissent against the South West Africa campaign. On 15 September, J.H. de la Rey⁶⁹ set out to West Transvaal to incite public opinion against the said campaign. Refusing to stop at a roadblock set up for 2 escaped convicts, De la Rey was shot

⁶⁸ J.M.B. Hertzog and others became increasingly resentful of general Louis Botha and J.C. Smuts' ideas around the Union remaining within the British Empire. With the formation of the NP, the SANP became known as the South African party.

⁶⁹ He was an Anglo-Boer war hero.

and killed. This aroused feelings of anger with many of the generals raising commandos against the government or joining the Germans. The rebellion was crushed with force, the leaders fined, and the rebels set free, except Jopie Fourie, who was tried and executed. This set off a series of poems and oral poetry, which linked the tragic heroes of the S.A. war and the 1914 rebellion (Omer-Cooper 1987:165; Hofmeyr 1987:107).

Hofmeyr (1987:107) remarks "In this atmosphere there was an increasingly sharpening definition of an Afrikaner..." such as the creation of "The monument to Women" (Die Vroue Monument) in 1913, the setting up of the "Co-operation" (Helpmekaar) voluntary organisation and the National Press (Nasionale Pers), publishing house of the NP. Helpmekaar was specifically set up to raise money to help pay the fines of the rebels. The excess money was used to establish SANTAM (Omer-Cooper 1987:166). Under these conditions, the lobby for Afrikaans was also more easily voiced and demanded. Successes of the lobby included a massive number of books and dictionaries appearing in Afrikaans in 1918. Afrikaans became the language of two universities and achieved a measure of status when legislation was passed ruling that the word 'Dutch' also "...included Afrikaans..." although it only referred to "...all state and official purposes inside, but not outside the House" (Hofmeyr 1987:107). In 1915, a year after the Labour-Nationalist alliance won the elections, Afrikaans achieved official status. Yet, even after such a major victory had been achieved, opposition towards Afrikaans still remained. A supreme court judgement was only delivered in Afrikaans in 1932, while

English speakers still held and dominated state positions and commerce. Within the church the opposition was so strong that the translated Afrikaans Bible only appeared in 1933, 63 years after it had first been suggested and argued for by the GRA (Hofmeyr 1987:107-108).

It is important to note that Steyn (1987:75) says that the NP, as opposed to the SAP was the most important advocate of what he calls "mainstream nationalism". Both of them, as well as the Broederbond, were nationalist i.e. they were all in favour of,

- 1) having Afrikaans as an official language as well as the education medium for schools;
- 2) the social and economic upliftment of the underprivileged and the disadvantaged.

The difference was in the method in getting those rights applied, for instance the language rights. Secondly, "mainstream nationalism" also supported the following characteristics:

- 1) Greater economic and political independence from Britain.
- 2) The establishment of a republic.
- 3) Greater racial segregation.
- 4) The replacement of British symbols with South African ones.

Yet, on the literary level, writers were being canvassed to write in Afrikaans through competitions "...which overtly or subtly encouraged people to write about 'Afrikaans' subjects". Secondly, magazines such as the 'Brandwag' and 'Die Huisgenoot' (The Family

Companion) encouraged the literary scene by creating "...a cult of personality..." around the novelists and poets (Hofmeyr 1987:109). Important to note is that Preller was the first person to seriously make work out of mythologising the Afrikaner past with his series on Piet Retief, and the Great Trek (Hofmeyr 1987:109). A host of other writers took up the pen and added to the new literature. According to Hofmeyr (1987:110-111) this active construction of an Afrikaner/Afrikaans literature went hand in hand with a redefinition of the ordinary, of everyday life which was being rewritten in terms that were Afrikaner. Hofmeyr (1987:111) writes "The pages of *Die Brandwag* and "*Die Huisgenoot*", for example, carried articles, advertisements, pictures and stories which took every imaginable phenomena of people's worlds and then repackaged these as Afrikaans". This was a response partly to the fact that "...Afrikaners of all classes were adopting the trappings of an 'English' culture" (eg the bioscope era).

The above ventures, such as Afrikaans being granted official status, or the printing of articles, poems, and books in Afrikaans, are not the end-product of Afrikaner nationalism. If nationalism is mobilised, there can be no end to its manufacturing. Thus, the above activities, such as the establishment of symbols (e.g. such as Preller started) are all instances which establish Afrikanerdom, as well as keeping it intact.

As one can see from the above paragraphs, the idea of a unitary Afrikanerdom is as much fabricated, as any other nationdom. It would then be interesting to see if the museum is also a fabrication, and on what truth it focuses its light. In the next chapter, I will be drawing on these issues and using them in my discussion of the Afrikaans Language Museum.

Section 3

Chapter 7 Lay-out of Afrikaans Taal Museum

The Afrikaans Language museum is situated in Paarl⁷⁰ in what is called the "Gideon Malherbe House". The house belonged to one of the members of a group called the "Fellowship of True Afrikaners" (Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners), GRA, who had, as one of their goals, the recognition of Afrikaans alongside Dutch and English.

The idea for a museum was first realised by a group of people in the 1940's to honour the GRA (Du Toit 1975:103; Fransen 1978:87; Kotze 1977:1). To fulfil this purpose, the Afrikaans language committee was established, which in 1971 bought the Gideon Malherbe house when it came into the market (Ms Du Toit, pers comm 1990). That same year the house was designated a monument, and exactly 100 years after the first meeting of the GRA in the same house, 14 August 1975, the museum was declared open.

Guided tours are provided to foreign tourists and parties of school students, while a guidebook is on sale for R1.00 at the museum. The museum also sells a book that tells the story of the exhibits in more detail than the guidebook offers. It is called " From the GRA to the House Gideon Malherbe"⁷¹.

⁷⁰ See Appendix 2; Fig 1

⁷¹ "Van die GRA tot die Huis Gideon Malherbe"

The museum is a colonial expression of Victorian architecture (Fransen 1978). It is a double-storied house, with eleven of the rooms incorporated in the museum, and one other room used as the curator's office. The lower part of the house was reserved to convey the impression of the house that Gideon Malherbe lived in, or as the booklet states, to convey the milieu of 14 August 1875 (Kotze 1977).

Starting from the hall way⁷², the first room to the left will be the lounge. Prominent in the room is a portrait of pastor G.W.A. van der Lingen, Gideon Malherbe's father-in-law and noted as a prominent figure in the history of the Afrikaans language in his own right, before the establishment of the GRA. Other furniture is the piano, a couch and two tables.

The next room is the dining-room⁷³ which is situated directly opposite the front door and is usually the first room the visitor enters. Undoubtedly seen as the most important room in the lower part of the museum, it was here that the GRA had their meetings. Of course the architecture of the house lends itself to the above, as the dining-room is seen as the important room in a lot of houses. According to the guidebook, most of the furniture, except the table and chairs, which stand in the middle of the room, are original. There are six watercolours against the wall which depict the Biblical story of the Prodigal son, and which have been attributed to Gideon's mother, who is named in the

⁷² For the plan of the museum, see Appendix 2 fig 2

⁷³ See Appendix 3 fig.1

guidebook. The rest of the room is taken up by a wooden bench, a cupboard, a table and chair, with Gideon Malherbe's Bible placed upon it. It also has wall racks, a wall clock and Gideon's wooden shoes which he wore in the vineyards (Kotze 1972:6). A portrait of Gideon hangs directly opposite the entrance and thus dominates the room.

From the diningroom the door leads into the main bedroom, furnished with a bed, a child's cot, two cupboards and a wastable. This room is adjacent to what was originally the children's room, and later housed the printing press on which, it is claimed, the first Afrikaans newspaper, "Di Afrikaanse Patriot"⁷⁴ was produced. The same press stands in the room, as well as copies of the first newspapers dated to 1877. This room has been connected with the lounge by partly demolishing the original wall dividing the rooms, and so doing creating a doorway facilitating visitors walking through.

The last room on this level is called the Malherbe room, and is dominated by the family gallery⁷⁵. Photographs were enlarged and mounted on separate boards. They depict Gideon, his two wives, Justina Wilhelmina Nancy van der Lingen and Dorothea Christina Jaspers, and their children in order of age, from eldest to youngest, starting from the left. On the opposite side of the room, opposite this gallery, a chest of drawers and various farm implements⁷⁶ were set on a raised platform. Ornaments and

⁷⁴ The Afrikaans Patriot

⁷⁵ See Appendix 3 fig.2

jewellery are also included in this room, and are placed on racks behind a wood and glass case. On the opposite wall to the Malherbe gallery, a family album section⁷⁷ was set up, containing more photographs, letters, poems plus papercuttings done by Gideon Malherbe's mother, who is unnamed

To reach the upper level, the visitor mounts a flight of stairs. The second level has seven rooms which house nine exhibitions. The first exhibition is called "Die Vrugbare Aarde" (Bountiful Earth). The aim is to depict 19th century Paarl and Daljosafat.⁷⁸ For this purpose, use was made of old postcards which had been enlarged and placed on panels⁷⁹. These panels are placed on another vertical panel, covered in green material. According to Ms Du Toit (pers.comm.1990), this is meant to be symbolic of life. In the centre of the room the visitor will find a map of present day Paarl, which dates to 1975. The map is covered in numbered flags which show the position of the subjects (eg buildings) of each postcard with that of the map. These numbered flags are not complete, and secondly, the visitor is left to discover the connection between the map and the panels by him/herself.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 3; Fig.3

⁷⁷ See Appendix 3; Fig.4

⁷⁸ Daljosafat is a suburb of Paarl.

⁷⁹ See Appendix 3 fig.5

The second exhibition bears the title "Twee sterk kragte bots" (Two strong forces clash)⁸⁰. This portrays the resistance of people at the Cape against the British Administration and later government, but especially the policy of Anglicization. The exhibit incorporates quotes and conversations by Dutch visitors to the Cape who commented on the Afrikaans language. Poems, noticeably "Kaatjie Kekkelbek"⁸¹, or otherwise known as 'Life among the Hottentots', and "Vooruitgang"⁸² (Progress) are both used to convey this resistance.

The third room holds two exhibitions, with the first one called "'n Saaier het uitgegaan" (There was a sower). This exhibit relates to the path paved by a few individuals who were the foregoers of the GRA. They were G.W.A. van der Lingen; Arnoldus Pannevis, popularly seen as the father of the Afrikaans language; and Dr Johannes Brill. The museum owns a collection of Pannevis' books and these are proudly part of the exhibition. In addition, a bust of Pannevis was donated by the Afrikaans Cultural Organisation of South Africa (AKPOL)⁸³ in 1984.

The second exhibition is devoted to two other figures in the history of the language, before the establishment of the GRA. It is called "'n Saad ontkiem" (A seed sprouts), referring to the

⁸⁰ See Appendix 3 fig.6

⁸¹ See Appendix 3 fig.7. For a reproduction of the poem itself, see Appendix 4.

⁸² See Appendix 3 fig.8

⁸³ Afrikaanse Kultuur Vereniging van Suid Afrika

groundbreaking work done by C.P. Hoogenhout and S.J. du Toit, and includes written documents in, and about Afrikaans, dating to before August 1875 (Kotze 1977).

Room four is devoted solely to the GRA, with an exhibit called "'n Organisasie word gestig" (An organisation is established). The exhibition is made up of photographs of the eight men who formed the GRA; a proposition by Pannevis that the Bible be translated in Afrikaans; and the badge (see illustration of badge in appendix 4) of the organisation. A glass cabinet stands in the middle of the room with some of the personal belongings of C.P. Hoogenhout and S.J. du Toit. The photographs of the eight men were enlarged and set up against the wall, and arranged according to their ages. It is not, however, indicative of their true ages in 1875.

Rooms five and six portray the particular ideals and goals the GRA had striven towards. For instance, to have Afrikaans recognised as an official and national language, and to achieve political and economic power for the Afrikaner, through the establishment of a political party called "Die Afrikanerbond" (The Afrikaner Organisation) in 1879. In order to gain economic power, for instance, the Afrikanerbond campaigned for the establishment of South African banks, as well as bookshops, the latter to play a part in the spreading of their ideals and ideas. Room five, for instance, boasts the first books in Afrikaans, as well as more copies of "Di Afrikaanse Patriot".

The last room is divided between two exhibits. The first deals with the "Tweede Taalbeweging" (Second Language Movement) and is structured around portraits of well known poets and novelists, as well as some of their publications. The second exhibit bears the name "In die begin was die woord" (In the beginning was the word)⁸⁴, and is a historical overview of the rocky road the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans has followed. The exhibition contains photographs of each of the translators, followed by inscriptions of their favourite Bible text. In addition, six translations of Matthew 28, transcribed between the years 1873 and 1973, are included on a separate display panel, in the exhibit.

This is the end of the exhibit. The visitor must leave the upper section by a different set of stairs running down at the end of the last room. In effect this gives the impression of coming full circle in viewing the exhibit.

In the next chapter I will explore these exhibits, using the previous chapters to extract my information on Afrikanerdom, women and museums, and the history of the language.

⁸⁴ See Appendix 3 fig 9

Section 3

Chapter 8: A discussion of Afrikaans Taal Museum

In this chapter I will show that the museum is a means of solidifying and creating an idea of monolithic Afrikanerdom and nationalism. In this chapter I will deal with the upper section of the museum which deals with the portrayal of the history of Afrikaans. I will deal with the lower section in later chapters. This chapter focuses on the idea of the museum perpetuating a certain ideology, and on how this ideology is sustained.

If, as Hofmeyr (1987) and Gilliomee (1987) have argued, the establishment of an Afrikanerdom has not been a homogenous and God-given singular inevitability, then the existence of the Afrikaans Taalmuseum could represent more than the simple telling of the history of the language. It could more likely act as a symbol which is part of the whole construction of the Afrikaner. When I had visited the museum, this idea, (or fact, as it seemed at the time), presented itself to me, almost as natural. Throughout my formative years, the rise of the Afrikaner has also been touted to be a natural and inevitable consequence of a series of events. I find this ironic that two opposite sets of ideals could both have at different stages of my life, seemed to present itself to me as natural. I have already quoted Max du Preez (1992)⁸⁵ when he talks about his visit to the Taalmonument,

⁸⁵ See chapter 5 page 1

that it is indeed a symbol of Afrikanerdom. To investigate whether my first impressions hold true, I will embark on a room by room examination of the Huis Gideon Malherbe.

The first room houses an exhibit which portrays Paarl and Daljosafat in the 19th century. I have translated the title "Die Vrugbare Aarde", into "This Fertile Earth", for the word "fertile" could mean fertile to bear the fruits of the earth, or fertile to receive the seed which brings forth the fruit. For the land (Paarl and Daljosafat) in this case, is fertile to receive the language, but also to provide a language. Paarl and Daljosafat then, have a dual role, as receiver and provider. The role of provider implies that it is out of this vrugbare/fertile earth that the language had sprung. It therefore creates the idea that Afrikaans had its origin in Paarl and Daljosafat. The guidebook also states when referring to this exhibit "It is here that the Afrikaans Languagemovement began."⁸⁶ (Gids tot die Afrikaanse Taalmuseum 1977). Yet the exhibit itself concentrates on the physicality of the land, i.e. its shops and buildings and thus denies the image of fertility. One is thus left with the idea that the title speaks solely to the phenomenon which was the GRA.

The second exhibit moves away from the centrality of Paarl and Daljosafat to focus, as I have mentioned earlier, on resistance against the British at the Cape. According to the guidebook the two forces are "...Afrikaans that had been the language of the

⁸⁶ "Dit is hier waar die Afrikaanse Taalbeweging ontstaan het."

Afrikaners for a long time already, and English which since 1806, was the language of the new regime"⁸⁷. These words create the impression that Afrikaans had been established at the Cape long before English, is therefore more legitimate, and thus had more right than English to become the official language at the Cape. Secondly, it creates the image that the people at the Cape, and those represented in the museum, were a unified group (as can be seen even in the words- that had been the language of the Afrikaners⁸⁸ for a long time already...), united against the British. So, even though the guidebook says the forces are Afrikaans and English, it seems more like Afrikaner sentiment against the Anti-British sentiment. This is enhanced by the fact that across from the panels with the quotes, is a section starting off with this sentence- "The British followed an Anglicization policy"⁸⁹. This is followed by a list of legislation proclaimed between the years 1806-1865. This does of course fit in with the idea of the clash between English and Afrikaans, as many of these affect the language directly. I would argue though, that on a secondary level, the languages are in essence representative of the Afrikaners and the British. The poem by C. P. Hoogenhout for instance, which ends this section, argues against Anglicization. But he does this by claiming that English is taking over the churches, schools, public places which were

⁸⁷ "...Afrikaans wat toe reeds lank die spreektaal van die Afrikaners was, en Engels wat sedert 1806 die taal van die nuwe bewind was."

⁸⁸ My underlining. The word Afrikaners speak to a unified group.

⁸⁹ "Die Britse owerheid het 'n Verengelsingsbeleid gevolg."

were "...built by the sweat and blood of our fathers"⁹⁰. Here, "ons vaders" (our fathers) come to mean Afrikaners, those who speak Afrikaans.

In room three, the exhibits " 'n Saaier het uitgegaan" (There was a Sower) and "'n Saad ontkiem" (A Seed Germinates) concentrate on those who paved the way for the GRA, and who recognised the viability of Afrikaans, the dialect, to be an accepted language. One of these men was Arnoldus Pannevis, who, according to Du Plessis (1986:42) had recognised the usefulness of employing Afrikaans in imparting the teachings of Christ and bringing Christianity to the 'coloured people'. He had the desire to have the Bible translated into Afrikaans to assist in his teachings, and as was mentioned in chapter 5, wrote a letter to the British and International Bible Association (Britse en Buitelandse Bybel Genootskap) (BBBG) and set out this plan.

The museum draws attention to this as well as the fact that Pannevis set out the idea of the GRA in a letter dated 4 November 1874. In Pannevis' scheme of things, the aim of the GRA was to set up a set of spelling rules and a dictionary which would encourage the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans. Yet, according to Du Plessis (1986:40), Pannevis was not interested in the language issue per se, but wanted to utilise the Afrikaans language, and the GRA, in furthering his cause of having the Bible translated. And as I have mentioned in chapter 5, the reason he promoted the idea of the GRA as an organisation which

⁹⁰ "deur ons vaders, van hul sweet en bloed gebouw."

would set up these spelling rules was because the BBBG had laid down certain demands if they were to assent to the translation of the Bible. In the museum though, these issues are not acknowledged in a sense that would invite the visitor to be critical of the idea that Pannevis' main aim, besides having the Bible translated, was the furtherance of the language issue. According to Du Plessis (1986) then, Pannevis' initiatives are very much religion inspired. Yet, according to the guidebook (Kotze 1977), Pannevis was the person who made Afrikaners aware of the fact that Afrikaans is a "...acceptable language....and who encouraged them to have it accepted and acknowledged⁹¹". Here then, the image is created of the inevitability of the creation of the GRA and, more importantly the recognition of Afrikaans.

Rooms four, five and six are devoted to the GRA and the aims it set for itself. The first exhibit, "'n Organisasie word gestig" (An organisation is established) forms the idea of the GRA as the only important organisation in the propagation for the recognition of Afrikaans. Even using the words "'n Organisasie word gestig" (An organisation is established) promotes this idea. It is important to note that in a museum called "Die Afrikaanse Taal museum", (The Afrikaans Language museum) which would arguably represent the efforts of all those involved, no matter how small, in the creation of the language, three rooms are devoted solely to the GRA. This organisation was undeniably not the only force in the history of the language. Yet, the exhibits

⁹¹ "volwaardige taal....en hulle aangemoedig het om dit aanvaar en erken te kry ."

paint this image. For instance, after a letter from Pannevis, and a representation of a meeting between S.J. du Toit and ds. G. Morgan, the visitor is confronted with a black panel with the following words:

"It is Saturday August 14 in the afternoon. Today, in the home of Gideon Malherbe in Pastorielane a secret meeting will be held..."⁹²

These words create an aura of mysteriousness and secrecy, but more importantly, the words accord the events that follow importance, by evoking the secret quality.

As the first room is devoted to the men who formed the GRA, their photographs line a wall, placed, as I have said in chapter 7, according to their ages. In the middle, too, are the personal belongings of S.J. du Toit and C.P. Hoogenhout. The lineage of the Du Toit family is given, as a means of showing the relationship between this family and that of the Malherbes. The translation of the Bible is very noticeably linked to the GRA, as Pannevis' proposition of this idea is included in the exhibit. Pannevis, then, becomes part of the GRA, not as a member, but as a founding figure. Nor does he stand, as this founding figure, outside the occurrences of the GRA.

⁹² "Dit is Saterdag 14 Augustus in die voormiddag. In die huis van Gideon Malherbe in Pastorielaan sal vandag 'n geheime vergadering plaasvind".

Here it is important to take note of the GRA badge which is included in the exhibit⁹³. According to D.D.J. Kotzè (1992:17) the badge was most probably designed by S.J. du Toit. The first time it was used was on "The Afrikaans Calender for 1877"⁹⁴. From December 1877 up until 1879 it graced the covers of "The Afrikaans Patriot" (Di Afrikaanse Patriot). The descriptions given of the badge, were taken from the calender of 1877 (Kotzè 1992:17). I will quote from the GRA explanation in full, as this is really the only way in which I can do it justice⁹⁵.

Boan staat VERENIGDE SUID AFRICA. Ja, sover moet dit kom: 'n vrije nasie met 'n eije taal. Daarom volg kort daarop die eintlikke motto van ons genootskap: VER MOEDERTAAL EN VADERLAND, want alleen deur eenparig daarvoor te staan kan ons ooit tot so 'n Verenigde Suid Afrika kom. Op die vlage weerskante staat die name van KOLONIE, VRIJSTAAT, TRANSVAAL, NATAL. Hulle hou hulle name en blijf aparte State, terwijl hulle tog één grote Vereniging van State vorm.

In die middel is 'n HART; die saak gaat uit ons hart uit. Mar dis nie soumar 'n blinde hartstog wat ons lei; né, in die hart leg die BIJBEL; die vervul en bestuur die hart. Dan is daar 'n KRUIS en 'n ANKER. En soos daarop staat, die drie same vertoon Geloof, Hoop en Liefde. Ons geloof dat die saak van God is, ons

⁹³ See Appendix 4

⁹⁴ Die Afrikaanse Almanak vir 1877

⁹⁵ This is an important piece and therefore I have decided to keep it in its original form in the main body of the thesis and to include the translation in Appendix 5.

hoop daarom dat Hij dit sal se'en en ons wort daartoe aneset deur ware liefde ver ons Vaderland.

Onderan staat die Titel en die datum van die GENOOTSKAP op die rol van perkament: - Onderan, omdat nie ons self mar ons Land en ons Volk wil eer en verhef; op perkament, omdat dit duursaam is, en die Genootskap net so.

Rondom is die op brengste van ons Land. Die WIJNRANK een kant vertoon die Wijnboerderij; die KORENGHALM an die ander die Korengboerderij; die OS en die SKAAP en die PERD die Veeboerderij; die VOLSTRUIS die Volstruisboerderij; en onder op die grond 'n DIAMAND om te toon dat Afrika rijk is an kosbare stene en metale ook.

Onthou dit so lank as julle die wapen siet.⁹⁶

As can be seen from the above description, the badge is composed of images which today are still intelligible, such as the land, the language, and the Bible. In the badge these three are tied together, as stated in the first two paragraphs of the description. It (the GRA) talks about "a free nation and an own language" ('n vrije nasie met 'n eije taal), then the motto, which is "For Mother tongue and Fatherland" (Ver Moedertaal en Vaderland), while it is stated that the cause which is proclaimed by the GRA is led through the heart, while the heart itself is led by God. The rest of the images all tie into the ideal of the land, i.e. the agriculture, stockfarming, and the wealth of the

⁹⁶ For translation see Appendix 5.

land. This badge, within the museum, becomes a manifestation of appropriating the land. Within the badge the land is unpopulated, therefore making it easier for its seizure. The supreme image of the unity between the land and the language is central to the badge. As already stated, it is the motto of the GRA, while the images which flank the badge are all those which are tied to the land - the animals, the corn, vine, and the diamond. The Bible is important, as it represents sanction by the Almighty God to populate the land.

The next two exhibits, which concentrate on the ideals of the GRA, are "For our language..." and "...and our nation and our country"⁹⁷. The first concentrates on the campaign for Afrikaans and the second on the political ideals, such as the formation of the Broederbond. Once again note should be taken that the motto of the GRA "For our language and our nation and our country" (Om te staan vir ons taal, ons nasie en ons Land), is the title of this exhibit. The section dealing with the language talks about "Di Patriot", starting its own printing press, and education and the language congresses. The second section deals with the establishment of Afrikaner shops, banks, as well as the creation of the Afrikanerbond.

The last room is divided between the exhibits on the translation of the Bible, and that on the Afrikaans literature, called "Jy sal 'n Nakroos sien" (You shall see descendants). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, religion is important in Afrikaner

⁹⁷ "Om te staan ver ons taal..." and "...ons nasie en ons land."

society, as the linkage between the NG Kerk⁹⁸ and Afrikanerdom, for instance the idea that Apartheid policies are justified by the word of God, has shown. And the idea that Afrikaners believe a pact was made with God during the Battle of Bloodriver, subsequently commemorated on 16 December, known as the Day of the Vow. The manifesto of 25 September 1875, which states "Our God has placed us in Africa, and has given us the Afrikaans language"⁹⁹, similarly attests to the importance of religion. This exhibit, then, not only shows that the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans as argued for by Pannevis. In a sense, it concretizes the idea that the language was God-given. Because the museum has erected this exhibit, dealing with the translation of the Bible, it also in a sense gives thanks for the language as given by God. It also, in this framework, shifts the spotlight to the GRA again, although in a round about way, as it was due to Pannevis that the GRA was established, and specifically with the idea in mind that this organisation would be able to help him in convincing the BBBG of the viability of translating the Bible into Afrikaans.

The next step in my argument is to tie the strands together. The issue I want to focus on, is the idea that the exhibits on the upper level are all tied together with an umbilical cord- the GRA. The museum is a telling of the historical emergence of a language, and as such is caught within this structure. The

⁹⁸ Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church)

⁹⁹ Onse Liewe Heer het vir ons in Afrika geplaas en ver ons die Afrikaanse taal gegee.

visitor to the museum, of course, is also caught within this hold, and has to follow the set path in order to be informed of this history. So doing, the visitor partakes in the creation of this history.

Turning to the exhibits we find that the first one, titled "Die Vrugbare Aarde" (This Fertile Earth) presents the physical environment in which the GRA was established, while the second exhibit "Twee Sterk Kragte Bots" (Two Great Forces Clash) describes the social and political sphere which shaped the movement. "'n Saaier het Uitgegaan" (There was a sower), and "'n Saad Ontkiem" (A Seed Germinates), the third and fourth exhibits, make direct reference to the people and events which led to the GRA. While "'n Organisasie word Gestig" (An Organisation is Established) and "Om te staan vir Ons Taal, Ons Nasie en Ons Land" (To Stand for Our Language, Our Nation and Our Land), the fifth exhibit, deals directly with the GRA, and their ideals. Whereas "Jy sal 'n Nakroos sien" (You shall see descendants) and the sixth, "Die Bybelvertaling" (The Bible translations) deal with the results and the influence the GRA had, "...over the ages"¹⁰⁰ (Dr D.J. Kotzé 1992:30).

Secondly, when discussing the GRA badge, I argued that the land/language is a central image. Once again it is found incorporated into the titles of the exhibits. Here it serves to strengthen the idea of the inevitable rise of Afrikaans, as the language is tied to the very fibre of the land from which it

¹⁰⁰ "oor baie dekades heen".

sprung. Conversely, it points to the idea that loss of the language effectively constitutes loss of the land.

If one is to refer back to the badge, I argue that the reason that no people are represented, points to the fact that the land was unpopulated, and can be colonised. If Afrikaans is tied to the land, the land belongs to those who speak Afrikaans. But who are these people who speak Afrikaans? We see that, referring particularly to those represented in the museum, (the GRA) that only a certain group of people are presented as those who speak Afrikaans - White Afrikaner men. They are thus the bastions of the language and the land. Women are not included in the exhibits which deal with the establishment of the GRA, effectively withholding this privilege i.e. as the keepers of the language, from them. Even though women and men spoke the language in reality, in the museum it is the men to whom the language belongs.

On the upper level, by focusing particularly on the circumstances surrounding the eight men who formed the organisation, these men are accorded a value of importance. They become, as the founding fathers of the language, the patriarchal fathers of the language. Other men who share the spotlight are G.W. A. van der Lingen, C.P. Hoogenhout, and Arnoldus Pannevis. These three, though, are all linked to the GRA in some respect or other. They do not then, in any sense, detract from the Organisation, but in a sense enhance it. Pannevis's bust as well as some of the books from his personal library are included in the upstairs level.

The GRA, and these men are all in some way or another tied in with the idea of the divine sanction from God. In the badge for instance, the Bible is physically represented, and the words, "Our faith that this is a cause from God"¹⁰¹ is included. These men then, were sanctioned by God to be the fathers of the language. Even though they were thus sanctioned, and come to be the patriarchal fathers, yet they do not take on biblical proportions, because the Biblical references are towards the language rather than referring to them. The badge for instance, talks about the mothertongue and the fatherland, before referring to the Bible, and the faith they put in their mission. These men can in a sense be compared to the missionaries, who came to spread the divine word as a calling from God. Another reason that they do not acquire divine stature is because many documents of the GRA remained to be displayed in the museum, such as the badge. These refer to the mission of having Afrikaans recognized as a sanction from God. The GRA becomes then divinely inspired, rather than divine themselves.

The titles of the exhibits, the central imagery of the unpopulated land, to the focus on those gentlemen who had minimal ties to the GRA, all serve to highlight the importance of the organisation. Another important aspect which similarly serves to aid the idea of the centrality of the GRA, is the adherence to chronology as part of the exhibits.

¹⁰¹ "Ons geloof dat die saak van God is,"

When the visitor enters the upper level, she/he has to follow the chronology as set out above, or the history of the language becomes unintelligible. The history of the language is lay out in such a manner that it proceeds from point A (This Fertile Earth) to point Z (The Bible Translations), i.e. the natural progression of the history. According to this analysis the museum, in following the chronology of the history, provides little leeway for the visitor to actively participate in discovering the history for her/himself. The relationship of viewer and exhibit/curator is one of information receiver and giver.

However, it is important to test the structure of exhibit layouts, its morphology, without taking into consideration the chronology of the history, in order to test whether the morphology of the exhibits enhance the idea of the natural progression of the history, or whether it introduces the element of active participation on the part of the viewer. According to Peponis and Hedin (1982:21) the three areas which are important to consider are the *depth*, the *rings*, and the *"relative ease or difficulty that visitor experience in trying to comprehend a spatial pattern"* of the exhibits. Taken together, these three contribute to the entropy of an exhibit. Depth relates to the number of spaces between exhibits that need to be crossed in order to move from one exhibit to another. Rings refer to the number of alternate ways going from one space to another, with "...a ring being a series of spaces connected in sequence, so that one can return to any starting point without having to back

on one's steps" (Peponis and Hedin 1982:21). The last property, is important when we consider that the easier it is for visitors to comprehend the exhibit, the more structured it would be, while with a more complicated system "...no space can exert any dominant controlling function..." (Peponis and Hedin 1982:23). Entropy "...relates to the number, and simplicity of plan, of the straight axial lines;...and the more *entropic* a gallery is, the less it is structured" (Pearce 1990: 150).

When we turn to the lay-out of the exhibits on the upper level, we find that the plan has shallow depth, low ring factor, and it is less entropic. According to John Peponis and Jenny Hedin's (1982) analysis of exhibit lay-out in museums, and its relationship to viewer participation, the lay-out of the Taalmuseum is structured, rather than inviting active viewer participation.

Susan Pearce (1990:152) has shown that the British museum, in exhibiting the chronological history of early medieval Europe in the Early Medieval Room, opted for a more entropic approach, with "...considerable depth, and a...very complex series of overlapping and concentric rings. All this means that the chronological sequence is well-nigh impossible to follow, and, indeed, it is not greatly stressed in the display content, but that the visitor is encouraged to look at the material as he chooses and to form an example, about how classical forms influenced early medieval craftsmanship".

The Medieval room and the Taalmuseum exhibit chronological history in different ways, the former depending on the viewer to work out the chronological sequence, while the latter leaves no space for such viewer participation.

The difference is to be found in the fact that "The designing of an exhibit is an act of interpretation, which opens up meaning, and in a political world, this is a political act which needs to be handled with great care" (Pearce 1990:158). The important factor here is the exhibitors and the researchers. These are the people who choose the events they want to exhibit, within the confine of certain limitations. For, instance:

- 1) Events which have been professed to be the most important in the history of the language,
- 2) Important figures within the history of the language,
- 3) Is this the version of history to which we agree, or are there other figures, events, situations more important?

The above questions are at the core of national heritage management, and have repercussions far greater than simply the telling of the story of in this case, Afrikaans. Pearce (1990:157-8) writes, "The trend of the time is to suggest that, although there is a positivist element in our information about the past...the questions which are posed to produce this information, and the constructions which are put upon the answers, derive from the political contexts of the researchers, and are a reflection, not of the past, but of aspects of the present". Farieda Khan (1992:1) writes "In re-examining the issue of heritage, questions such as : 'Who owns the past?', 'Whose heritage should be

conserved?' and ultimately, 'Who decides?' have to be asked." Then, quoting Turnbridge, says, "Such questions are intimately bound up with factors such as socio-political dominance, since it is the perceptions and values of the dominant group which shapes the whole issue of heritage conservation". Secondly, David Thelen (1992:2) writes, "From all social and ideological perspectives groups often assume that people will believe whatever stories they are told. All they need to dominate others is to get the power to control television stations-- or monument policy-- that provide the means for telling their stories or excluding their rivals' stories." In the case of the Taalmuseum, the curator holds the power to choose the content of the exhibits, as well as the morphology of the exhibits, which in this case enhances the idea of the natural progression towards the establishment of the GRA, and the eventual recognition of Afrikaans as a official language. By not varying away from the chosen chronology, the exhibits do not challenge the idea of the importance or the focus on the GRA.

Having argued that the exhibits on the upper level concentrate on the GRA, I will now do an analysis of this aspect. The stature of the GRA being secured, the image is created which confirms that it is these men who formed the Afrikaans language as it is known today. I do not mean, here, it is suggested that they created it in its entirety, and that no other person or organisation is given credit for the fostering of the language. It is, however, with the words *birth of a language* that the problem lies. Can one say that a language has a point of origin?

And if yes, given the fluid nature of language, and its constant growth, what is the demarcation line? The question arises, was the kombuistaal (Kitchen language) or the Dutch creole, Afrikaans? Or did it only become Afrikaans when the language became official in 1925, or when, say, novels and poetry began appearing, or when a set of spelling and grammar rules had been worked out? There are therefore different instances which can be claimed to constitute the birth of the language. Precisely because there are these myriad instances which could be the beginning of the language, it can be argued, that the GRA did form the Afrikaans language, in campaigning for the language to be accepted and in recognising its importance, and can therefore encompass this point of genesis.

One can then also argue that the GRA was responsible for what is called the First language movement. Both Alba Bower (1975:17) and Hans Fransen (1978:78), for instance, say that the museum presents the story of the GRA and the First language movement. It would therefore seem that the focus of the museum is correct and appropriate. But my argument, which states that different occasions in time would also constitute a birth, other than 14 August 1875, still holds. Du Plessis for instance, separates the First and Second language movements into five movements of which the efforts and circumstances surrounding the GRA are taken up in the Bible translations movement and the Afrikanerbond movement. These movements fall between the years 1871-1890, and is preceded by the East Rand movement, and the Malay-Afrikaans language movement. According to Du Plessis (1984:37), S.J. du

Toit had described the First language movement as synonymous with the GRA, and subsequent scholars have followed suit. One gets the impression that the museum was set up along this trend.

However, since one can claim that Meurant and Abu Bakr Effendi equally set Afrikaans on its path to achieve official status, one can argue that any of these two movements¹⁰² could also constitute a beginning of Afrikaans. The issue, for me, becomes one of origins, i.e. what is the origin¹⁰³ of a language. But more than that, to claim origin, is to claim ownership of the language. In chapter two I have mentioned origins research as described by Margaret Conkey and Sarah Williams (1991). And now I argue that to claim the origin of Afrikaans for the GRA is to make it easier to claim it as a 'white' language. Du Plessis (1984:1), quoting Valkoff writes, "'It is not astonishing, that in their language struggle these (Afrikaner - LT) linguistics tended to transfer their ideal of purity of the white race to their mothertongue and their history'".

By situating the origin with the GRA, it excludes the efforts of Meurant and Abu Bakr Effendi. But it is with the latter that I am concerned, for it ties in with the notion of the stigma that clings to Kaaps Afrikaans. If recognition is given to Abu Bakr by the museum, it would be giving recognition to Kaaps

¹⁰² The East Rand movement with Meurant, and the Malay-Afrikaans language movement with Abu-bakr Effendi.

¹⁰³ Origin here does not refer to the influences such as Dutch, Khoi, etc, but rather the demarcation line that points to the beginning of an event.

have led to the creation of this Afrikaner constituency. Hofmeyr (1987:107) has shown, that in the years around 1913, there was an acute sharpening in defining the identity of the Afrikaner, and in 1914 the NP, who campaigned around rights, which became Afrikaner rights, was formed. Smuts was known to be sympathetic towards the idea of South Africa's inclusion in the British empire. The farmers were suffering under the British regime, and would not accept Smuts' idea. Hofmeyr (1987:107) argues that it had become apparent, with the crushing of the mining strikes of 1913, that the South African party was being controlled by the mine magnates. Gilliomme (1987:116) had also shown that by 1870, South Africa was dominated by agricultural mode of production, which meant that many of the Afrikaners were thus rural and poor. If then, these people's economic circumstances were to be addressed by the NP, and the National Party would claim to be representative of their needs, this would become the constituency of the NP. Remember too that Steyn (1989:75) had argued that the NP was the main advocate of nationalism. However, I can only describe the economic and social situation which could foster a climate in which the creation of an Afrikaner identity would become possible.

Today one would argue that sloganeering, pamphlets, grassroots newspapers, amongst others, are tools which enable the creation of a political identity (as a group), against the current ruling party. The ANC, PAC, and Inkatha are all using tools to unite people by highlighting a certain aspect. For instance, the PAC, will not abandon the mass struggle, or the armed struggle, and

so unite those against this policy of the ANC. This group of people will then become the constituency of the PAC. One cannot therefore say that the anti-NP lobby is a united front, as the above case shows. In the same way one cannot say that the Afrikaners, were a united group even when the NP was established.

But exactly because of this fact, the idea of an united Afrikanerdom has to be proclaimed, to ensure the future of the ruling party who needs this imaginary unitary base. Colonising Afrikaans as a white language thus necessitates the "cult of personality" and the exclusion of all parties who do not fall into the paradigm I mentioned before. Reproduced in the museum, we find that the displays are set up in such a manner that they all point to the singular moment of the establishment of the GRA, the moment which facilitates claiming ownership of Afrikaans, and the exclusion of all those persons and instances which preclude this ownership.

Section 3

Chapter 9: The Exclusion of Women

Who told me my place? (*Ruth Fainlight. Definition*
1985 Bloodaxe)

In the previous chapter I showed that the exhibits on the upper level are all linked by a single motif - the GRA. In this chapter, I concentrate mostly on the lower level, investigating whether here too, exhibits point towards the GRA, and through this, to Afrikaner Nationalism. An idea which I would like to tackle is the following: the prominence and emphases which are given to Gideon Malherbe. It should be noted that none of the references I have consulted concerning the history of the language name Gideon Malherbe as a very prominent GRA figure¹⁰⁶. Yet, it was his home that was chosen as the site of the Afrikaans Language museum. One could argue that it was chosen because it is the site of the GRA's first meeting, or, that had the Gideon Malherbe home not been in the market in 1977, the museum would have been housed in a different location. Whether the Bo-Kaap would have been the site, can only remain a question. Even so, I want to show that Gideon Malherbe has received too much recognition in the museum, which (as I will show later), is of

¹⁰⁶ He had written the first Afrikaans history book with S.J. du Toit, and C.P. Hoogenhout.

itself a marker towards the building of the myth of the Afrikaner.

The building itself is called Huis Gideon Malherbe (House Gideon Malherbe), which is innocent, or seemingly so. Yet, it is coupled with the fact that the whole of the lower section of the museum (which spans five rooms) is devoted to the home that Gideon Malherbe lived in, establishing the milieu of 14 August 1875¹⁰⁷. Of these rooms, only one is dedicated to the GRA, which houses the printing presses, and copies of the *Afrikaanse Patriot*. Secondly, Gideon Malherbe's portrait hangs in the dining-room, and it is the first image with which a visitor to the museum is confronted. It is also his wooden clogs, and Bible, that is found in this room, the only personal items, the rest made up by furniture, or art decorations. The Malherbe room, on the other hand, is a hotch-potch of farm tools, jewellery, photographs and letters, but is dominated by the Malherbe gallery. Gideon, again as the head of the family, is in the centre of the family gallery, with his respective wives flanking him and their children next to them.

Having Gideon Malherbe's portrait dominate the dining-room, his personal items in the same room, and his photograph dominate the family gallery, as I have said before, might lead the visitor to the conclusion that Gideon Malherbe was prominent in the history of the Afrikaans language. Indeed, this is true to a certain extent, as has been promoted by the official history of the language. However, I would argue that the prominence which is

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 7; page 2

conferred upon him, is considerable, and unproportional to the role which he played in the history of the language. I will now examine the exhibits in the lower section of the museum and see whether my hypothesis holds.

Starting with the dining-room, we find that, according to the guidebook, the watercolours in this room were painted by Gideon's mother. Yet, I argue, these paintings do not fall in a category which is aimed at the presentation of women's art, nor does it acquire such a function in the museum. It falls in the category that Fransen calls Fine Arts, and its decorative purpose clearly is the important feature. Even though it is stated in the guidebook, the visitor is not made aware (through text in the exhibit itself) that Gideon's mother was the painter, and if the visitor is told by the curator or guide, I speculate it is a titbit of interesting information. This of course is important, for to draw attention to the paintings, would mean drawing the focus from Gideon Malherbe.

Then, the next room where women are present, one could argue, is in the main bedroom. As mentioned before, it consists of a bed, child's cot, two cupboards and a wastable. One could argue that women are represented through the (marital) bed, also through the cot, which could represent women's reproduction. Yet, to judge from the dining-room, this is not so. Here then, the objects fall into Fransen's category of furniture, and are therefore examples of the types of objects that were used in the 19th century. There

are for instance, no indicators, such as explanation cards that suggest that the furniture do indeed represent women's work.

The next room I want to focus on is the Malherbe room. Again the objects typify the Malherbe household, and as such become items of 19th century life. The fact that the farm implements are in this exhibit, for instance, substantiates this idea. The objects then, variously fall into Fransen's categories of Applied Arts (for eg furniture, ceramics, glass), and Utensils (for eg the domestic and agriculture objects). Fransen makes provision in both these categories for not only the functional aspects but also the aesthetic. One can therefore argue that the objects, are there also for aesthetic appeal, for example, the lace work and jewellery. There is a plaque which verifies that most of the utensils were indeed of the Malherbe home.

We see from the above paragraphs, that the objects which could have represented women's work are rather representative of Art, utensils and Applied Arts. The focus of the exhibit, thus centres on the decorative or functional aspect of the object. The role that women filled in the Malherbe household, their work, thus becomes non-existent. The cot, for instance, does not relate to the labour of childbirth, or the raising of children. Nor do the tables or pots portray housework done or overseen by the women. It is true that the farm implements too do not represent work done by either men or women on the land, yet that too shows that gender in museums are not a priority. The objects such as

cutlery, ceramic ware, table, cot, to name a few, are thus merely representative of such objects of the 19th century and the Malherbe household. The Family Album (personal items such as lace making and letters of the family, which do seem to focus on the women), are impersonal. The aim of this section seems to be merely to invoke interest in the belongings of the family, as it is part of the hotch-potch of the Family Gallery.

The museum, in not focusing on gender-specific roles in the household, magnifies the prominence of the father; Gideon Malherbe. An example of this is the fact that Gideon's first wife, Justina Wilhelmina Nancy van der Lingen's parents are named, and a photo of her and Gideon's wedding is reproduced in the exhibit. No information on the parentage of his second wife, Dorothea Christina Jaspers is given. Because his first wife's father was G.W. A. van der Lingen, it becomes apparent that Justina's parentage is what is important. A second example, is the fact that the Malherbe room houses letters and correspondence between Gideon and the Academy for Language, Literature and Art, as well as the Afrikaans Student-League¹⁰⁸ in which these organisations offer him honorary membership. These show him as an active member of the society. The women on the other hand, are represented through ladylike pursuits, such as the lace-work made by Gideon's mother.

¹⁰⁸ Akademie vir Taal, Letterkunde en Kuns; Afrikaans Studentebond

If one is to compare the portrayal of Gideon Malherbe against that of women in the museum, as shown in the above paragraphs, the following conclusions can be made. In effect Gideon's presence is brought to the fore, as an individual who reads the Bible, and wears clogs on the farm. Information which could offer a glimpse of his mother's individuality, the authorship of the paintings, are not made as visible as that which applies to Gideon, while the rest of the family remain mostly faces. Gideon becomes a Biblical figure, in the presence that is constructed around his personage, rather than as a person of flesh and blood. Gideon is, however, more real than a Biblical figure, for instance Moses. This is an important point, as the history of the Afrikaner has been emeshed in Biblical references, mostly to legitimize Apartheid. Drawing on the marriage between Afrikanerdom and the Bible establishes the person of Gideon as the unequivocal patriarch of the family, whose presence pervades the lower section of the museum.

I now want to argue that in the Afrikaans Language museum, the prominence of Gideon Malherbe is juxtaposed, and established in the absence (silence) of women. The absence of women then, creates the presence of Gideon Malherbe. If we cast our minds back to chapter 3, we remember that Conkey and Gero (1990:18), referring to prehistoric societies, cautioned that we should not take for granted that gender existed in the past. But the absence of women here does not mean that gender does not exist. With absence I do not mean the lexical definition which refers to

"...not being present....,"¹⁰⁹ but more the *lack of attention to something*. Women are present in the museum, but whereas Gideon is represented, they are not.

Here I want to draw attention to the differences in the words "presented" and "represented". Where presence denotes passivity, representation means activity. In paragraphs two and three¹¹⁰ I have shown that Gideon Malherbe, as a person, is made visible through photos depicting him, as well as his portrait. The other members of the household are made visible through photo's. We are able to see what the other members of the family look like. However, we only discover the rest of the family in the Malherbe room, while Gideon's image has already been made visible in the dining-room, and as I have said, is the first image one sees.

And in the ensuing paragraphs I showed that most of the articles and furniture which could be representative of women's work, are, in fact examples of such objects of the 19th century. Secondly, I showed that we become aware of Gideon as an active member of society, as the letters attest, while no such references or indicators are given for women. Gideon therefore becomes an identity, a person for us, while the rest of the family do not. And as I have commented in chapter 8, the fact that his wives, daughters and sons are not represented in the museum, indicates that gender, and the division of labour is not presented. Gideon

¹⁰⁹ Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (Longman Group Ltd p4)

¹¹⁰ Chapter 9

then, by virtue of the absence of gender, is represented, while the women and the rest of the family are only present.

Secondly, it is also important to note that their absence/silence is created in a museum which celebrates the history of a language. Their silence is then in direct opposition to language, which even when not spoken, communicated through words. Their absence then, stretches beyond the "unspoken" even beyond words, as they are represented in a speechless context.

However, there is another layer to the story, which fits in with the idea of the difference between present and represent, in this specific context. Here I would like to shift the focus a little, and talk about what Elsie Cloete (1992a:47 ; 1992b:1) sees as the "collusionary 'confinements'" of Afrikaner women with the creation of the myth of the unitary Afrikanerdom. Cloete (1992b:1) defines confinement as "...the way one allows a limitation to be placed upon oneself, either wittingly or unwittingly which produces a form of docility - where there is an act of manipulation on behaviour and gestures which is imposed". Afrikaner women as a group are involved in two confinements, the most recent that of the mass media, and specifically that of Western standards of femininity. The confinement that I will briefly look at, is that of "volksskap"¹¹¹. Elsie Cloete (1992a ; 1992b) focuses specifically

¹¹¹ It is interesting to note that confinement also refers to the idea of pregnant women being confined to bed a few months before the birth of their child is due. This reference is interesting in lieu of the "otherness" of women, the basis of discrimination, due to our sexual organ, and the ability to bear children.

on two brochures on the Vroue Monument¹¹², one written in 1926, and the other in 1961. By comparing the brochures she comes to the conclusion that they differ substantially in the emphasis placed on women. The earlier (1926) brochure expounds on the merits of Afrikaner women, as volksmoeders, while the latter shifts the emphasis away totally from the merits of the Afrikaner woman. Cloete (1992:48) contends that the accumulation of power by 1961 by the National Party plays a major role in this shift of emphasis, away from the strength and power of women.¹¹³ By 1961 women were not needed in that first confinement the 1926 brochure attests to - as the frail but heroic volksmoeders who would foster a nation, - that of the Afrikaner volk. But by more or less 30 years on, the position and power of the Afrikaners had gained made this particular kind of confinement redundant, i.e. they were no longer useful as volksmoeders, though not essentially free from confinement per se.

Deborah Gaitskell and Elaine Unterhalter (1989) argue along the same lines in their article "Mothers of the Nation: a Comparative Analysis of Nation, Race and Motherhood in Afrikaner Nationalism and the African National Congress". They too see a shift in the role which women had to play within the structure of Afrikaner Nationalism. I call this a structure, for Gaitskell and

¹¹² Women's Monument

¹¹³ It should be noted that the 1926 brochure, while talking about the strength of the Voortrekker women, it also portrayed them, conversely, as weak. This dichotomy is used to secure the confinement, by extracting that even though these were weak women, they had courage enough to fight for the volk. This love of the volk is portrayed with the idea that in their weakness, the women, could rise in strength for the sake of the land.

Unterhalter (1989) show that the role of white women is defined according to threats that have been launched, or perceived to have been made against the Nation.

The writers perceive three different representations of Afrikaner women, but all three centre around the image of motherhood (Gaitskell and Unterhalter 1989:60). These three are,

1) 1902 - "Afrikaner motherhood is exalted as saintly in suffering, admired for stoicism in victimisation, its strength and inspiration to the rest of the defeated nation. The emphasis is on nobility, passivity, virtuous nurturing and protection of children" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter 1989:60). This image comes at a time when the Afrikaners were defeated by the British in the South African War.

2) 1914 - The Union of South Africa was established by this time, and Hertzog had split with the South African Party to form the National Party. Motherhood within the volk, now became an active role, and coincides with attempts by Afrikaners to gain political power with or over the English. Now "The Home is focused on as women's appropriate arena for fostering Afrikaner national identity through their child rearing and domestic responsibilities" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter 1989:62).

3) 1948 - The Afrikaner capitalist class came into being and now the home became the focus where the new found prosperity was made visible. As Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989:65) write, "Afrikaner women occupied a less important role in nation building in these years". From the 1960's to 1980's, Afrikanerdom began to show fractures as the incorporation of English speaking whites,

Indians, and 'coloureds' into the concept of nation attest. Afrikaner mothers were now "enlisted" to fight in two ways

- a) women have to fight the enemy, those across the borders as well as those from within the black population, from the home;
- b) they also had to establish contact with co-optable members of other racial groups.

Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989), thus differ slightly from Cloete (1992a; 1992b) who, when studying the 1961 brochure of the Woman's Monument, comes to the conclusion that by that year women were "...no longer necessary as willing and willed concubine of the Fatherland." and "...no longer needed by the Volk..." (Cloete 1992a). We have seen that Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989) show that women's confinement were and are always tied up with the idea of the volk/nation. Both articles though, assent in the idea that the role of white women changed from 1902 to the 1980's.

What is interesting of course is the idea of the confinement of women for the creation of a volk. For it seems that the museum, in creating the absence of women, confines them to another role. I have already mentioned that the absence of women creates the prominence of Gideon Malherbe. And this, I would argue, confines the role of women within the history of the Afrikaans language. The idea that the security of the NP regime had made the insistence on the role of Afrikaner women as volksmoeders greatly redundant, could also explain the relative lack of representation of white women in the lower level of the museum. Had 1975 been a year in which the NP had to call on the women to once again

"give birth to a nation", the museum might have echoed this call. If we turn to Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989), they too see that women were no longer called upon to assist in nation building, although they were still seen as mothers, i.e. they were still kept in the private realm. Important though, is the fact that the home was no longer in the forefront of the ethnic struggle. There is thus no need to represent women in this fashion, but what is important, is their presence in the home. As we see, this confinement, as volksmoeders, was substituted with another kind of confinement.

I will now turn my attention to the upper level of the museum. As mentioned in chapter 6, this section deals with the history of the language. On this level women are completely absent, except for two occasions. The first instance being, the rendition of the poem called "Kaatjie Kekkelbek" or "Life Among the Hottentots"¹¹⁴; while the second illustration occurs in the section on Afrikaans Literature. I will first look at "Kaatjie Kekkelbek".

This poem is included under the exhibit called "Twee Sterk Kragte Bots" (Two Great Forces Clash) in which quotes by Dutch visitors commenting on the Afrikaans language, or conversations between people that provide a glimpse at spoken Afrikaans, are exhibited. The poem falls between these two parameters, i.e. Afrikaans as a spoken language and resistance against the British. Kaatjie is, according to the caption, "The vagabond Hottentot woman of that

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 6

time who has gained nothing through the civilising attempts of the missionaries."¹¹⁵. The narrative, a mixture of Afrikaans and English, is the voice of Kaatjie, who relates an account when she and four other people were jailed for stealing. The aim of the poem, though, is a send-up of the missionaries¹¹⁶, especially one called Dr Philip¹¹⁷.

Kaatjie is used in this case, by the author, Andrew Geddes Bain¹¹⁸, as a tool to show up the missionaries. Yet the sense remains that this is not actually the voice of Kaatjie Kekkelbek. Here attention should be drawn to the fact that her surname means "chatterbox". I mention this because her image as the vagabond chatterbox is also a tool to portray the fact that the attempts at civilising the Hottentots¹¹⁹ have not worked. If this image, Kaatjie Kekkelbek, is a tool, it is really the voice of Andrew Geddes Bain who emerges in the poem. Given Bain's background as

¹¹⁵ "die rondloper-Hottentotvrou van daardie tyd wat niks by die beskawingspogings van die sendelinge gebaat het nie".

¹¹⁶ The caption reads, "In it fun is poked at Dr Philip and many other British missionaries " (Hierin word die spot gedryf met Dr Philip en baie ander Britse sendelinge).

¹¹⁷ Dr Philip was a philanthropist who lived at the Cape during the late 19th century. During his work here, he came to the conclusion that the Khoi have no legal rights, and agitated on behalf of the Khoi people to obtain civil, political freedom, and equality before the law.

¹¹⁸ Andrew Geddes Bain was a geologist, builder of roads, explorer, trader, soldier, and writer. He was a British subject, having friends such as Andrew Smith, founder of the South African museum in the Cape, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, governor of the Cape.

¹¹⁹ I use the word Hottentots here, following Gaby Ritchie's (1990) argument that this is the image and idea which is drawn of the Khoi, and it is thus this aspect that is written/spoken about.

a true colonialist, and his friendships with Smith and D'Urban, one cannot claim that this poem is written from the heart of Afrikanerdom, or indeed that it is sympathetic to the Afrikaners. What is interesting though, is that the poem becomes, in this exhibit, an anti-British poem, and in this museum, a piece of Afrikanerdom.

The second instance where women feature in an exhibit, is in the last room which deals with the Second Language Movement, and the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans. It is in the former exhibit that well known women literary figures are included. Women have not been excluded from the Afrikaans literary scene, as names such as Sheila Cussons, Elizabeth Eybers, Wilma Stockenstrom, Antjie Krog, and Jean Goosen attest.

As mentioned earlier in chapter 6, with the creation of an Afrikaans literature an audience was created for the language, by inviting all Afrikaners, both men and women, to write novels, prose, poems, and essays. The inclusion of women, then, is not extraordinary, yet, it should be remembered that the icons of the literary field are still men, those of the likes of N.P. van Wyk Louw, and D. J. Opperman. In the exhibit, however, only two women are portrayed, Elizabeth Eybers and Mona Elizabeth Rothmann. I spoke to Mrs Burgers¹²⁰ who worked at the museum for 20 years, about the inclusion of these two women. According to her, they were included not to counter the dominant male perspective, but solely because of the fact that they contributed to the emergence

¹²⁰ Mrs Burgers was the Museum Humanities researcher.

of the Afrikaans Literature. During the emergence of Afrikaans, the need to create a literature seemed to supersede the divisions of gender. In the same way, the need to show the language as a viable literary language, also supersedes these divisions.

In order to create an Afrikaner literature, which was necessary in building a unitary Afrikanerdom, all segments of the white Afrikaans speaking community would have to be drawn from. Here again, women serve to portray this image of the unitary base. But comparing these images of women, there seems to be three distinctly different impressions. On the lower level women are relatively absent except for the photographs, while Kaatjie Kekkelbek, if one reads the poem, becomes very alive in one's imagination. In the literature section the women once again are active, in the sense that they partake in the workings of great literature. There is, though, a difference between that image and that of Kaatjie Kekkelbek. The latter is rowdy, a drunkard, in short, as seen by men, not a lady, while the women of Gideon's household are sacrificial, their persons being subverted to enhance his. The writers on the other hand, are also subverted, but not to any particular husband or father, but to the ideal of an Afrikaans literature. Kaatjie is confined to the image of the black vagabond woman, and Gideon's wives and daughters to that of the dutiful women, who sacrifice for the father and husband, and through him for the country. And Elizabeth Eybers and M. E. Rothmann's confinement lay in terms of their sacrifice for the literature. In the end though, all these images of women are used in some way to foster patriarchy.

On the lower level the image of women enhance that of Gideon Malherbe, and as I shall show in the conclusion, help with the construction and perpetuation of Afrikanerdom. In the exhibition on the Second Language movement the images of women are used to generate the idea of Afrikaans as a literary language, with great works being produced in it. Meanwhile Kaatjie Kekkelbek's image is used to portray the idea of the vagabond Hottentot and is used by it's author to show the fallibility of the English. In the museum it takes on another dimension, as it becomes an ideological weapon, and a substantiation for not including Kaaps Afrikaans in the museum (other than a piece which is to portray the influences of Afrikaans, and not Afrikaans as it is seen today). The unsuitability of Kaaps becomes evident in this particular rendition of the uncivilised nature of the people who spoke the language. Each of these images then, in promoting the notion of some other, are in essence not the reflection of women, white or black, living in the 19th or 20th century. These are constructed images, created in accordance with a confinement which insists that women should subvert themselves for the greater good of this other, be it literature, politics, or the volk. One must also remember that the lives of black and white women were vastly different. Their gender, however, is all used in one way or other as a confinement, and this confinement is in collusion with patriarchy. Because they are constructed images/confinements, women, as I have said, are not represented in the museum, for "...a woman is defined exclusively in terms of her relationship to men, which becomes the source from which

female stereotypes emerge and are sustained." (Westkott 1979:423).

Section 3

Chapter 10: Racism

There was a mass of people with no humanity to whom another mass referred: Why, they are naturally like that. They like to live in such filth. They have been doing it for centuries. (*Bessie Head. Maru 1971 Heinemann*)

There is a section of my life they will never claim or own. (*Bessie Head. Maru 1971 Heinemann*)

In the previous chapter, I showed how the absence of women enhances the presence of Gideon Malherbe. And in discussing these images of women in the museum, we came across the portrayal of a black woman in the poem "Kaatjie Kekkelbek". I will use this poem as an entry point to discuss images of black people in the museum.

Barbara Bush (1990:3-4) writes that early works on slavery mostly "... portrayed the slave as a passive or ingratiating figure and emphasised ascribed inferior racial traits". These works generally considered "the slave" without separating out the difference between the men and women under slavery. Yet, Bush (1992:12) distinguishes two broad categories which stereotype slave womanhood;

- 1) "those which are generally applicable to all slaves..."
- 2) "those which have originated from the unique sexual functions of the individual woman". She writes "The common image of the woman slave, culled from planter and abolitionist sources alike, is a compound of the scarlet woman, the domineering matriarch and the passive workhorse" (Bush 1990:5). And here the "scarlet woman" is the epitome of immorality and licentiousness, whom in numerous accounts are portrayed selling their bodies for even a very small sum of money.

David Lewis-Williams (1990:35-37) recalls that colonialist images of the San in the late 19th and early 20th century were those of a people without a religion, and because of this, primitive and lazy. He quotes Dorothea Bleek, the daughter of Wilhelm Bleek¹²¹, when she says of the San, that they have a "carefree, idle life" and spend time "lounging about, watching bird and beast, and talking, always talking". Ritchie (1990:80-82) too, draws attention to the images of the San, taking her depictions from travelwritings between 1488 and the 19th century. She writes, "By 1612 the descriptions appear quite standardised - brute and savage people with no religion, no language, no laws, government or manners...". Textual depictions of women, as with Bush (1990), comment on their sexuality, and the fact that they are "...quite shameless, exposing themselves for a little bread or other food,

¹²¹ Wilhelm H Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd worked with three San men, //Kabbo, /Han•kasso and Dia!kwan, at the Cape, transcribing and noting down folklore and explanations of San rock art around the 1860's. The Bleek and Lloyd collections are comprised in the archives of the University of Cape Town (Lewis-Williams 1990:35; Watson 1991:7-8).

even if their husbands are standing near by" (Ritchie, 1990:82, after Raven-Hart 1967:1).

When we read the caption to the poem, -"Kaatjie represents the vagabond Hottentotwoman of that time who has learned nothing and gained nothing through the civilising process of the missionaries."¹²², the words "...vagabond Hottentotwoman" (...rondloper-Hottentotvrou) already sketch a certain picture of Kaatjie. This picture is of a vagabond - out of choice - who ascribes no value to the morals of motherhood and the family. As we read the poem we discover that she is portrayed as uneducated, as someone who drinks brandy, and whose eating habits would offend most people - "...sat eating mince crumpets with the fat dribbling down her mouth..."¹²³.

Kaatjie then, is portrayed in the same light in which women slaves were sketched, and portrayed in written sources. And as the only black woman referred to in the museum, she becomes *the* representative black women. Secondly, in Afrikaans the word "die" is equivalent to the direct article "the", but in the sentence implies that there were many women like Kaatjie Kekkelbek. Kaatjie is, as with portrayals of the slave population and indigenous people, vagabond, drinking stealing, swearing, lazy,

¹²² "...Kaatjie verteenwoordig die rondloper-Hottentotvrou van daardie tyd wat niks by die beskawingsproses vandie sendelinge gebaat het nie."

¹²³ "...lekker sit kramnaatjies eet, dat de vet so langs die bek afloop.... " It should be said that here the word "bek" is derogatory and crude, as it is mostly reserved to describe the mouths of animals.

uneducated, and for all the efforts of the missionaries, unable to be educated¹²⁴. She is then, an uncivilised, inferior being. And because no alternative view of black women is presented, Kaatjie not only represents, but is the epitome of black women. However, in the poem, Kaatjie is not *referred* to as a slave but as a Khoi woman. Yet she is portrayed in the same manner that slave women have been. The aim then, is to emphasise the inferiority of the black woman, and by extension, the black community.

But Kaatjie is not portrayed only as immoral and crude, she is also, if we read Bush (1990), in a sense masculine. Bush (1990:13) writes that slave women, as workers, are portrayed "...as a defeminized neuter unit...". Because we have been conditioned as women to be feminine, any characteristic which to us falls outside the realm of the feminine (such as crude language, bad eating habits, and stealing) becomes unladylike, and in some cases, masculine¹²⁵. Kaatjie then, is not portrayed as a real woman. Yet, as she is not a man, she is then, constructed as "other".

And if we compare her image to that of white women in the museum, we discover disparaging views of womanhood. From the little evidence that we have of white women in the museum, we find that

¹²⁴ For more information on the portrayal of the indigenous people of South Africa see also Ritchie (1990).

¹²⁵ I use the term masculine lightly, as it does not imply that she is seen as a man. There is a difference between being masculine, and being a man. The emphasis is however, on Kaatjie being defeminized.

they are represented as wives and daughters, and as mentioned in chapter 9, situated in the private realm of the home. Through this comparison, between the "masculine" Kaatjie and the Malherbe women, we find that womanhood and femininity are reserved for white women, while the black woman slave is an undefined being, sexually licentious, but at the same time, defeminized. In essence then, white women are portrayed as 'good' and black women as 'bad'.

The image of the slave character in popular history and "mythology" portrays the slave character as one not to be respected. Slaves are also beings who can be oppressed due to their very "nature" as ingratiating figures. Their blackness which makes them "other", becomes a right for the owner to mistreat and oppress slave men and women. We can extend this imagery to the colonised Kaatjie Kekkelbek, argue that it is not necessary in the museum, to provide black people with an identity, and it becomes "natural" to use the character of Kaatjie as a means of presenting the failures of the British missionaries.

But here we encounter a problem. Kaatjie Kekkelbek, the poem, has a dual purpose. It is at once an example of early Afrikaans, and at the same time, (as I mentioned in chapter 9) a piece that pokes fun at the British missionaries. When we consider that the poem pokes fun at the missionaries, it tends to obscure the idea that the poem is meant to portray the language of the colonised black women. Equally, as an example of a variant, or Kaaps

Afrikaans, the question still remains whether its importance is the fact that this is meant to illustrate the language spoken by black women. What we have here is a fracture in the ideological structure of the museum. For the language is placed in the mouth of Kaatjie, but at the same time it is being denied that black women spoke Afrikaans, or a variant, and thus had an influence on the language. This is because the primary purpose of the poem is, as I mentioned before, the dual role as representative of early Afrikaans, and as a satiristic piece on the British missionaries. One can argue that the poem, in both the above contexts, are not meant as a representation of slaves, men and women, in any way. Once again we come back to the point that women, are in essence absent in the museum.

Whatever the image projected of Kaatjie, the fact remains that for a black person to visit the museum, this image not only offends as racist, but hones in on the idea that Afrikaans, as a language, and as presented in this poem, oppresses. Interestingly, the poem is written only partly in Afrikaans. Yet, because of this fact, and because it is part of the Afrikaans Language museum, and as no alternative to this image exists in the museum, the idea that Kaatjie Kekkelbek becomes the archetypal black woman, still prevails. The ideological purpose of the poem, in the context of the museum then, is the denigration of black people.

It would now be interesting to see what images of black men, or black male slaves, or Khoi men are created in the museum.

However, except for Kaatjie's male friends who helped her steal, and who are only referred to in the poem, there are no black men represented in the museum at all. But if we turn to the history of the language, we find the personage of Abubakr Effendi, whom I have already mentioned in chapters 5 and 8. Abubakr Effendi arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1862, as a religious guide to help arbitrate between the various schools and teachings in the Islamic community (Davids 1991:2). During his stay here he wrote the Bayānudīn (An Explanation of the Religion), which when read aloud, was in Cape Afrikaans, although it was written in Arabic script. He also wrote the Maraīd-dīn (Observations of Religion). The importance of his stay here stretches beyond his work in the Moslem community, for in order to make his teachings understandable, he printed and worked out a system of phonetics through which he created the "...Arabic symbols for Afrikaans vowels and lettering sounds...." (Davids 1991:1).

Abubakr Effendi then, because of his work in Afrikaans¹²⁶ should have a place in the history of the language, alongside that of the GRA. The question should thus be asked why Abubakr Effendi, as well as other black men are not portrayed in the museum. Here a second question should be asked, as it really part of the same issue - why is the image of the black woman that of the colonised Khoi woman, Kaatjie Kekkelbek?

¹²⁶ Achmad Davids (1991:1) calls the Bayānudīn "...the first serious printed work in Cape Afrikaans..."

To answer these questions, it is necessary to look back at chapters 5 and 7. We know that in the 19th century the white Afrikaans speakers were disenfranchised under British rule, and that the petit bourgeois within this group sought an increase in political participation and political control. However, to fight for political rights of Afrikaans-speaking whites, and to gain this power it was, as it is today, necessary to bind this group to form a constituency. It was even more crucial that this group felt and was distinct from other groups. The one factor which could and did bind the group was the Afrikaans language. And as said before, the National Party, as part of its political campaign, climbed on the bandwagon and lobbied to have Afrikaans recognised when it was formed in 1914. This process of securing a group identity, necessitated the purge of the language of its blackness, or else black people would have to be included in this group. As we have already seen the white workers, especially the poor white Afrikaans-speaking workers, and black labourers were in competition with each other in the job market.

However, this is not reflected in the museum, as the whitewashing of the language itself has to be kept hidden. Secondly, the purge does not necessarily happen in a clearly thought out and systematic fashion, and can only be discerned years later. Yet, its effects, once there is an awareness of the whitewashing, can be recognised. The museum itself is both a product of this whitewashing process, as well as an institution engaging in and reproducing the process.

In this way the purge of the Afrikaans language of its blackness is represented in the museum - through the exclusion of its black roots, the portrayal of black women, and the exclusion of black men. Kaatjie Kekkelbek's language, as mentioned previously, for instance, is not standard Afrikaans, but a variant. Variants are not placed in the mouths of white people and are thus not associated with them, (in the museum). The inclusion of the poem about Kaatjie Kekkelbek underlines the idea that Afrikaans (the written and spoken standard) belongs to this white Afrikaans speaking group. And although this might actually have been the manner in which Kaatjie as well as other people have spoken, the stigma which clings to variants, such as Kaaps Afrikaans, makes it a derogatory language in this context. The standard then, is disowned from this character that represents, as the epitome of black people, the very people who have played a major part in the creation of the language. But secondly, by denying black people involvement in the language, the museum also eradicates all evidence of Afrikaans being a creole language. As everything which is "other" than white is negative, the creole aspect has to be eliminated. In essence, the issue at stake is the basic idea of ownership of the language.

Stephen Gawe and Francis Meli (1990:99) write "One form of exclusion of the past occurs, therefore, when dominant institutions are compelled by their ideology to treat as evidence only what is congenial, and to disregard what is inconvenient". This is the type of exclusion that we witness in the Taal Museum. However, we find that this is not particular to South Africa.

Garrison (1990:231) states "Black people of African descent have lived in Britain for a thousand years, and yet their existence has been forgotten and their presence ignored or dismissed in the annals of British history and the school syllabus".

For instance, Garrison (1990:232) finds, when discussing images of black people in Britain finds, here too, "...poor benighted slaves and destitutes" (See also Belgrave 1990:63). Yet, the story of Mary Seacole, a black woman who served in the 1854 Crimean War alongside Florence Nightingale, is excluded from British history. For instance, in the Jackdaw Pack no 11 for history students on the Crimean War, no reference is made to Mary, even though a contemporary, William Russel wrote extensively about her, and even though his other work is included in the same pack (Garrison 1990:233-234). It is therefore unlikely that the compilers of the pack were unaware of the existence of Mary Seacole.

The second example of how exclusion of "inconvenient evidence" works, is to be gleaned in a study done by Gertrude Fraser and Reginald Butler (1986). It takes as its main focus the proceedings of a court hearing concerning relocation of a Piedmont Gravesite in America. According to the writers,

"This conflict exposes the manner in which history can be used to serve different interests, and it illustrates the significance of recognising underlying cultural assumptions when we discuss the 'historical consciousness' of social groupings. Most important,

the issues raised during this conflict point to the centrality of power in determining which facets of the past are remembered and celebrated."

The relocation is proposed by a stone-mining company, with the opposition is divided into two groups;

- 1) Those living near the proposed mining site, who feel that the rural character of the county is under threat, and whose concern is centred around the devaluation of their homes by the proximity of the mining site,
- 2) and those who oppose the relocation of the gravesite, as they believe the graves contain the remains of their ancestors.

For the purpose of this chapter, the important issue is the question surrounding the character of the gravesite : Afro-American or white. The mining company claimed it was black, while its opposition claimed it was white. And we find that the gains that each had to achieve, were closely linked to the stance they took in concerning the "race " of the gravesite. For instance, it was necessary for the mining company to provide evidence for the Afro-American character of the gravesite, in order to make the relocation plausible and their mining activities possible. On the other hand, the opponents were bent on providing evidence for the historical significance of the gravesite, in order to stop the mining activities of the company. And, as the writers argue,

"To be historical in the present is to have been affluent in the past. And if affluence cannot be proven, then it is better to be white than black, if

you want to be officially remembered and recognized"
(Fraser and Butler 1986:125).

As the character of the gravesite, which is linked to the economic gains each group has to attain is the central issue, the historical importance of the gravesite itself becomes secondary. The writers justly note that

"As this case aptly illustrates, history is publicly presented in specific economic and social contexts. Public history is created. Past events and circumstances are actively fashioned and refashioned so that they may more closely accommodate the dominant audience's economic, moral, and political concerns"
(Fraser and Butler 1986:126-127).

But as Fraser and Butler (1986:130) also show, in labelling specific events as historic, "...famous personages and great events..." became a marker for the white people in Piedmont. For the black group (who did not take part in the court hearing) too, the above approach was seen as a legitimate definition of history. Therefore the significance of the "abandoned" gravesite was secondary to the economic gains of the white group, and was insignificant in the eyes of the black group.

In the above case, black history became an instrument for the achievement of specific (in this case) economic gains. So too, as we have seen, does the exclusion of black men, such as Abubakr Effendi, from the Afrikaans language museum. In the above case, the whitewashing of the language enables the fostering of a

separate Afrikaner identity, and via this, particular political gains. The history of black people in South Africa then, becomes a pawn in the fabrication of a history of the Afrikaans language and the Afrikaner nation. This history, though is not excluded only because it is black history, but because the evidence, of an alternative to the state sanctioned history, is "inconvenient". The evidence of slavery, and of colonised people as black history, is however, convenient, because the images can be moulded to portray "...the role of Blacks to be negative and illegitimate..." and comparably the images of whites in the slave system, or as philanthropic, as always "...benign and legitimate" (Gawe and Meli 1990:101).

However, eradicating the black memory from the language does not in itself ensure the creation of a white history. And it is only one action in a series which, taken together, enables the fabrication of a history. The Chinese in Tibet are in a process of tearing away the memory and identity of the Tibetans, by physically tearing up their streets and houses. But only taken together with their occupation of the land, both in a military sense and the importation of Chinese people who then take over the workforce, and run the country, does it become an occupation. Tibet too, shows us what has been lost in exclusion and fabrication, the presence and proximity of coloniser and colonised. The Chinese and Tibetans share the road that is being torn apart, the slave women and men shared the language - the figurative road that became torn - with the Boer men and women.

The eradication of a road and exclusion of inconvenient evidence is more than the re-writing of a history - it is the removal of a memory. The definition of history as "Famous personages and great events" thus masks not only the person in the street, but also the memory of that person. The constructed history denies a memory of the involvement of black people in the making of the Afrikaans language. Yet even the focus on the everyday person can deny the remembrance of active involvement of the "other", as can be witnessed in the characterisation of Kaatjie Kekkelbek as well as the absence of women in general from the public sphere, in museums and text history books.

In this chapter I examined the construction of race, and specifically the images of black women and men. I found that, as with the presentation of women, black people, men and women, too are used as a means of building the image of Afrikanerdom. This takes the form of exclusions for instance of black men such as Abubakr Effendi, and the portrayal of the colonised woman Kaatjie Kekkelbek. These images are on a par with those of white women, in the sense only that women and black people become absent in the greater context of the museum.

Section 3

Chapter 11: Teachers' Responses

How universal is the language of oppression! (*Bessie Head. Maru 1971 Heinemann*)

The previous three chapters was devoted to a discussion of the museum exhibits of the history of the Afrikaans language, by looking at the importance it accords the GRA, Gideon Malherbe, as well as looking at the issue of the exclusion of women from the history of the language as portrayed in the displays. In this chapter I turn away from a critique of the exhibits, to a review of interviews I did with Black teachers living in Paarl. This chapter is meant to convey the effect of apartheid constructed history, (i.e. the teachers' feelings towards the museum), as well as the importance of acknowledging the community knowledge in issues concerning conservation heritage. For this reason I saw it necessary to approach the chapter by virtue of the voices of the teachers, the excluded voices, rather than thematically.

If we consider the interviews as a sample of the community, there is much which can be critiqued. Firstly, I cannot claim that these teachers are a sample of the greater community, as they have acquired a greater degree of education than the majority of the people. Thus, in terms of heritage management, they have

developed a certain amount of consciousness about the role of the museum in the community. Secondly, they all belong to the same Apartheid constructed racial group.

The reason why I chose this particular group of teachers developed through working with three of them on my CER project. The other teachers are all from secondary institutions in Paarl and Wellington. I had approached more teachers, but not all of them responded positively to my request of an interview.

I had specifically chosen teachers, as I wanted to gauge the ideas of people who involved in education, as this is the one front where indoctrination of the value of correct Afrikaans, as well as the ownership of Afrikaans is played out. Secondly, I specifically wanted to inquire about a number of issues, ranging from the role of museums, to the possibility of the inclusion of feminism in the school curricula, which of course the teachers would be best to answer. Teachers stand on the dividing line between the academia and lay-people, and were therefore in a prime position for the discussion that I undertook.

I had chosen "coloured" teachers as they were closest to the specific experiences that I had had concerning Apartheid and heritage management. However, it is a weakness of this chapter and this thesis that I did not approach teachers from a wider spectrum in the Paarl and Wellington areas.

Because of the exclusion of all events and people who do not fall into the scheme which proclaims and completes a white Afrikaner male history, - all inconvenient evidence- the museum does not talk to a major part of the community at large. The black teachers, whom I had been interviewing about the Taal museum all displayed antagonism towards the institution. Their views echo what I have already mentioned, that the museum is an extension of Afrikaner Nationalism. This chapter is devoted to these teachers perceptions of the Taalmuseum and I will quote in full from some of the interviews¹²⁷.

All of the teachers, felt that the actual existence of the language museum, as well as an alternative museum is unnecessary. As evidence Mr C. noted that the museum is under "Afrikaner besit"¹²⁸, while Mr M. argued that a standard of a language should not be caught within the strictures of a museum, as that language lives and has variants which complement it. The fact that the language is living, still spoken by people, was also the criticism Mr J. levelled against the museum, while Ms C. argued, that if the institution is not playing any real educative role, its existence should be called into question. Mr D. said that he would tell his own children about the museum, but he would not personally take them to the Taalmuseum. Ms O. argued that the word museum as it refers to the Taalmuseum can be placed within

¹²⁷ These interviews were done in Afrikaans, but as far as possible, I have tried to keep as close to the original meanings in doing the translation. Interviews are under appendix 3.

¹²⁸ Afrikaner ownership

quotation marks, as it does not mirror the true history of the language¹²⁹.

Most of the teachers concurred that according to their perception, the museum, as an entity, is from a white perspective. Ms O for instance, said that as she understands it, the museum concentrates on Gideon Malherbe and the likes, and their contribution to the language. But even before them, the Moslem community had been using Afrikaans for written, official and religious activities. Mr C. and Mr M. both remarked that the language itself is a white language. Mr C. said that it is the language of the Afrikaner, while the language that the child (read student) uses at home, is that of the people¹³⁰. Mr M. adds to the argument when he argued that the "Blankes het die taal gekaap..."¹³¹. He also said that people are more concerned with the birth of the language, which to them has Eurocentric roots in any case, and in the end the contribution by other parties are not included. To add to this, Mr D. remarked that due to the fact that the museum is from a white perspective, the non-white person is negated. He also said that the museum stands separate from the social, economic, and political situation of the majority of the people.

¹²⁹ Of the six teachers, only one, Mr D. had visited the museum when he was in standard 2 or 3.

¹³⁰ The "people" should here be taken to mean the historically disenfranchised, the black people of the land. And black means both "coloured" and "African".

¹³¹ The whites have highjacked the language.

Mr M. also concluded that the museum is about survival, survival of a language, and this is linked to a survival of a volk, of a minority group, and the values of this group, not those of every person, the whole community is being reflected in the museum.

I am aware that as an interviewer I am able to lead the interviewee towards answering in a certain manner, or influencing them in such a way that they provide me with the answers that I seek, and not those which are their true opinions. However, even taking these considerations into account, one can safely presume that these are their true opinions. And as can be seen from the above, these six teachers are not accepting the Afrikaans language museum. Furthermore, they are involved daily with 100-120 students, whom they are discouraging to go to the museum. This is a big proportion of the museum audience. This then, goes to indicate that the museum does not serve a large part of the community.

The Huis Gideon Malherbe, in portraying what it sees as the history of Afrikaans, alienates the black community in not exhibiting what some researchers or lay-people see as the true/or alternative history of the language. To the teachers, and this alienated community, an alternative history mostly means the history of Abubakr Effendi and the contribution of black people to the language. Inside the museum it includes the portrayal of Kaatjie Kekkelbek. It also includes the characterisation of other

women in the museum, although the teachers did not touch on this subject¹³².

Set against the background of the current museum, I asked four of the teachers their opinion of what a language museum, or more to the point, what an alternative language museum should look like. To the question, - should an alternative language museum exist at all -, Mr D answered yes, cautioning that it should not become the flipside to a nationalist venture, and become solely a 'non-white' venture¹³³. He said that firstly, the South African political context should be stated openly within the museum. For instance, South Africa has different languages, but only a museum which celebrates Afrikaans. Secondly, politics cannot be severed from the language, because it (the language) is part of culture. And for this reason, the violence of 1976, and the enforced teaching of Afrikaans in black schools could be portrayed.

Talking about the fact that language variants are themselves intricately worked into the political network, and how the current museum portrays only AB Afrikaans (standard Afrikaans), Mr D argued that an alternative museum should place the variants equal to the AB. Physically it could be illustrated by indicating the geographical areas of the variants, but in a way which shows how these variants complement each other. Importantly, one should

¹³² This fact is an indication the long road we yet have to travel of consciousness raising about feminism.

¹³³ Here I must again reiterate that as far as possible I am trying to use the words of the teachers when I translate. Therefore I am using the word "non-white".

have a museum in the Boland for Bolandse Afrikaans, or one in Cape Town for Kaaps Afrikaans. Yet, say if for argument sake the museum was in the Bo-Kaap, that museum should portray all the variants, not only Kaaps. These variants and new words should also be part of the museum, so that note can be taken about its development.

I commented that the latter idea sounded like research, making sure that new words and the growth of variants are always noted. Mr D answered that it would also be important to draw the community into the research, to place the findings in a library, and then the museum would be functional. After another question on how one would physically represent this, Mr D suggested that video and computer games be utilised. The person visiting the museum should grasp the variant, by seeing and hearing it. Compared to reading long passages, this practice would also be the improved and preferred one.

He then went on to speak about the ways in which the museum could assure that it drew people to the institution. His suggestion was making use of puppet shows. Arguing that the language could be recreated through this manner, he also asserted that people have always had a fascination for puppets. Mr D envisaged the show running every three months or six months and lasting ± three days. At first, he had the idea that schools would go to the museum for a day and so the puppet show would secure maximum use. He changed this idea, and preferred that the show be taken to the

schools, acknowledging also that it might become a great financial burden on the museum.

It was very important for Mr D that the museum sell itself. Sell in the sense of marketing its image to attract people to visit it. He argued that it should contact schools, to state their hours of business, but also that it should become involved in running projects. On the other hand, the museum should also be integrated in the school syllabus, yet still remain a community centre. A place that could be used on a everyday basis, for example, for meetings. Tied to this, was the idea that the museum should be open at night, as most parents only get home after 5pm. He also suggested that a free bus service should run between the museum and some areas in Paarl¹³⁴. This he said, would attract the community. Important also is the idea that the community should be in on the planning of the museum, for if they are able to provide insight the community would also see the value and worth of the museum.

Mr M at first was unsure whether giving the political context of the museum and Afrikaans would not be the cause of some problems, even though the act of establishing a museum is in essence a political act. After considering the objectivity of museums, he decided that yes, the political context should be given. He later added that the events of 1976 and the contributions made by the Moslem community and others to the growth of the language, which

¹³⁴ During the course of the interviews Mr D and the otherteachers flitted between a generalised idea of a museum and specifically an Afrikaans language museum.

are not represented in the current museum, should be reflected in a future one. He said that people should be able to see; "there a stone is thrown because of the language, and there someone is shot because of Afrikaans". He went on to say that the history (of the language as well as its political implications) which is currently being portrayed should be demystified.

Mr M said that the first task of the museum would involve doing a needs assessment and a study of the community, which would conversely encourage people to visit the museum. Here he commented that, should the political aspect not be considered, the museum could not do a needs assessment and networking would fail. This networking would involve creating links, via the museum PRO, with people over a wide terrain in the community¹³⁵. He remarked that these contacts should also exist between the museum, the school and the university. Here linking should be in terms of curricula, language, literature and prescribed books. With networking he feels, people would know what the link between themselves and the museum is. Another way in which the school and community could be drawn to the museum, is asking Afrikaans teachers to consider the concept of "museum". People could be asked to do talks, but not, he cautioned, those with ties to the regime. Topics to be dealt with should be the following; 1) What the museum is, 2) What can it produce, 3) What it should be, 4) Its social, cultural and historical function, 5) And, the museum as the keeper of values. The community should be allowed to ask

¹³⁵ Here community does not refer to Paarl only, but the wider South African community (read - potential museum audience).

questions about this concept at these meetings. Only if they could inquire about the concept "museum" would a museum culture grow.

Mr C started by saying that we are looking at two problems: 1) Reclaiming a past, 2) Criticising artifacts that exist. Talking about the second issues, he said that "our people" (black people)¹³⁶ have never had printing machines, therefore the museum should house the medium through which the language would have been generated, by this group, i.e. newspapers and magazines. At an earlier occasion he had also argued that the earliest written scripts; poetry and prose works; could be represented, but not, he said, objects. He also contended that a museum's value should consist in its ability to present this aspect of a people's culture, their technology.

Asking him how one would portray our history in this museum, he answered, in the medium of oral history, the stories which we could remember, which have been carried down, through generations. It should be made into an artefact if this could be done. These artifacts would be written pieces, short stories, for again he raised the idea that people from the black community do not have much , in the way of objects, to put in the museum. He said that currently, the artifacts in the museum do not reflect

¹³⁶ Mr C, when talking about the alternative museum, spoke from the premise that expressing the word "alternative" is to exclude the white group, as they do not have a tradition of the alternative. Therefore he feels that the word "alternative" creates the context of a museum excluding white people.

the "everyday." He said that one should talk about the context of the community and not the everyday through artifacts.

He suggested taping people's voices and catching them in their everyday relationships with one another. He said that this would show their true language use and proficiency. Earlier in the interview, when referring to Afrikaans language variants, he also suggested the use of audio machines. In this way one is able to tell people - this is how our people speak. Later, again speaking of the social and economic aspects of a community, he suggested that the museum be divided into rooms which would each reflect a different area of the population. For example, facsimile's of a house in Chicago, New Orleans, Klein Parys¹³⁷. He said that this would be demonstrating more about people's aspects and their manner of speech.

Mr J said that it would be impossible to start a new museum, and for this reason one should make use of the present one and add contributions from the community. He commented that one should be sure what the museum would portray, whether it would be the language or traditions, and thus, what one would regard desirable to put in the museum. He went on to say that the political era, such as the Verwoerdian, and P.W. Botha ages, should be portrayed; the time when Apartheid was strongest and when resistance became definite. The Botha age and the resistance should be seen in contrast to each other. This should be in the

¹³⁷ These are all historically "coloured" residential areas in Paarl.

form of photographs, newspaper articles, and from stories told by our fathers and the workers.

He also spoke about new words formed through these ages, for instance, "casspir", as well as the jokes that were told. These should be included because the museum deals with history, and because it encompasses the history and growth of the language. And as said previously, the politics of the day should also be demonstrated. Throughout the interview Mr J remarked that in setting up the museum one should use the school as a point of reference, because it is the focal point of the community.

Turning to feminism¹³⁸, Mr D said that it would interest some but not others. Yet, he said that museums should be used to promote feminism, with the bottom-up approach. He commented that women should be accorded a place at the initial planning stages, and that their contributions should not be added on at the end. It should not be swept under the mat, for example, due to financial problems. He said that children learn the language at their mother's knee, and it is this that the child should be able to see in the museum. As far as literature is concerned, he remarked that women's work should come into their own right, that the child must be shown that women are as important as men.

¹³⁸ As I was unsure whether the teachers would tackle the issue of feminism, I put it under a separate heading on the questionnaire. I do not believe this was its rightful place, but I will deal with it in this manner. (See Appendix 4).

Mr M said that it would be of value to the museum to include feminism. He said that the museum should include the contributions made by women at the early stages of the language, at its beginnings, which are not currently being reflected. He said that these were the women at home, who spoke to the servant, and that is how a lot of the events started¹³⁹.

Time ran out before Mr C could comment on feminism within the alternative language museum.

Mr J. said that women should be incorporated into the gathering of information from the community. Most of the social workers, for instance, are women and these are the people one should approach when gathering information from the sub-economic classes. But, he said, he was unsure whether they (women) would be part of the museum. He said that the oral history would include stories of women, and even though they would be involved in the early processes of establishing a museum, women would most likely not play a prominent role in the museum. He said that the museum should portray how women have gained equality.

As one can see, from the length of the interviews, feminism was not a priority to the teachers. Once again it is an indication of the knowledge communities have of feminism.

¹³⁹ Meaning that this is the site where the language was used and where the child and the "nooi" (madam) picked up the language from the servant woman and man.

Although some of their ideas had links, all of the teachers had different ideas about how to set up the alternative museum, or indeed its appearance. Noteworthy, though, is the fact that all of them consciously involved the community with the museum. The teachers imagined the community as part of the planning (Mr M, Mr J , Mr D), or centred the museum around the community (Mr C), and considered the importance of the making the museum a drawcard that would invite people to it (Mr M, Mr D, Mr J, Mr C). All of them also envisioned a process whereby the alternative museum would redress imbalances present in the existing one. For example, Mr D and Mr M argued that the museum would be in a position to promote feminism, while all four felt that it would rectify the current history of the Afrikaans language. The history of Abubakr Effendi, and all those who have made a contribution to the early beginnings of the language would be represented.

These comments should be seen as an indication of what communities want from museums. The emphasis, in this case, seems to be on education. Museum visitors should be able to learn new and exciting facts and be engaged in new ideas when they visit the museum. However, the teachers' idea that links should be made between the museum and the schooling system, would guarantee that education in the museum does not happen in a vacuum, but supports and supplements the school syllabus. The alternative museum then, would primarily be an educational institution.

Mr D and Mr M's point that the museum would be in position to promote feminism, falls into the education character of the museum, as it would be able to inform people of the ideals and ideas of feminism, as well as the successes it has obtained. However, at the moment feminism is not part of the school syllabus, and many of the teachers whom I had interviewed were antagonistic towards the idea of feminism in schools. The museum then, to my mind, will have to play a dual role, that of supplementing the school syllabus, as well as taking the initiative and educating the community on issues not necessarily touched on in schools, for instance feminism, race, and environmental issues. The museum then, must act as a catalyst in bringing these issues to the fore, and engaging the community in debate.

The teachers ideas are all brought forth in the presence of a history which has centred upon the exclusion of people because of their race. However, in this chapter it is also obvious that women, in lieu of their gender/sex, are included under those who have been non-represented. Talking about the cult of personality, I had argued that Gideon Malherbe becomes the point of focus on the lower level, while all the exhibits on the upper level converge upon the importance of the GRA. I now want to recall something Mr M said which, to me, ties in with the whole concept of the cult of personality.

Talking about the museum being a "statue" which commemorates Afrikaans as a written language, Mr M had the following to say.

He believes that people (meaning white people) no longer have heroes. And this is the reason roses have been linked to, and named after Mimi Coertze and Naas Botha. This he said, is reification of a hero figure. Mr M said that to his knowledge, there are also monuments to a dog, a donkey and a bull. And these he said, are manifestations of their (Afrikaner) psyche.

If one takes Mr M's ideas further, it indicates that reification is important in regard to the identity of Afrikanerdom. This is so, due to the fact that Afrikanerdom is not God-given and cannot exist on a solid and unitary base. It is an amalgamation of a loosely grouped people. The idea of unity therefore, has to be manufactured. Reification then, as seen in the museum, involves the exclusion of people and history that would set an opposition to the ideal. For to reify is to create an ideal that cannot be called into question or criticised. Therefore the history of Abubakr Effendi, and the contribution of the black community is excluded, as well as that of women in general, except where it aids the image. Secondly it involves the enhancement of those instances which serve to magnify the ideal. This is where imagery becomes important. This can be seen in the GRA badge, which incorporates the images of the land, the language, the Bible, as well as the titles of the exhibits which, as I have shown earlier, similarly reiterate the land/language vision. Reification then, equals exclusion and the use of imagery.

The museum then, which comprises all of the above, is not an institution that objectively depicts the history of the Afrikaans

language, but is a reification of the Afrikaans language, but more honestly, that of the GRA, and through this organisation of the Afrikaners. The museum succeeds in portraying the psyche of the Afrikaner through imagery. As stated in an earlier paragraph then, white Afrikaner men are indeed created as the bastions of the land and the language. Black people and women in general are to be confined in secondary roles supporting the ideal, yet manufactured, concept of the Afrikaner.

Section 3

Chapter 12 : Conclusion

Keep in mind always the present you are constructing.

It should be the future you want. (Ola. Alice Walker.

The Temple of my Familiar 1989 Penguin)

When I started on this project, I had already visited the Afrikaans Taal museum and had come to the conclusion that the museum is an expression of Afrikaner Nationalism. In the thesis I had to justify these ideas, by exploring the museum in detail. However, in order that I could do an adequate critique, I had to investigate the history of the language, as well as that of Afrikaner nationalism. Secondly, I felt that the discussion should be grounded in an understanding of issues around feminism; archaeology; and museums. Here then, I will deal with my conclusions, although many are already tied up with the discussions of previous chapters. Secondly, I will deal with issues which to me, flow from the conclusions. These are:

- 1) The perceptions of Afrikaans as a nationalist language.
- 2) How the latter fits in with the perception of an Afrikaans museum.
- 3) An alternative to this perception - issues tackled in America.

4) The idea that museums in RSA have to change.

In chapters seven to eleven I showed, through discussion of each exhibit, as well as the interviews with the Paarl teachers, that the museum, as a whole, functions as a symbol of Afrikaner Nationalism. This symbolic function is intricately worked into the structure (read exhibits) of the museum, and might not be apparent on a first reading. In my case, an understanding of feminism, Afrikaner nationalism, as well as the alternative history of the Afrikaans history, made it possible to become aware of the fissures, and discrepancies in this particular rendition of history as portrayed in the museum. These fissures can be explained and encapsulated in Gawe and Meli's (1990:99) idea of the "exclusion of inconvenient evidence". That which is left unsaid, (because they are exclusions), indicates to us those instances upon which, the myth of Afrikanerdom is built.

As an example, we can turn our attention to that instance (time) in history which is claimed to be the birth of the language. Afrikaans, its various early nuances and forms, are portrayed in "Twee Sterk Kragte Bots" (Two Great Forces Clash), but the instance, the generation of what is today seen as Afrikaans is equated with the workings of the GRA. In doing this, the history, as seen by the museum, excludes the efforts of Abubakr Effendi and Meurant. To safeguard this history, one could argue, (and as the museum shows), that the GRA was the first organisation which actively worked towards having Afrikaans recognised, and was thus backed by political designs. However, Du Plessis (1986), has

shown that the GRA was called into life through the efforts and desires of Pannevis, whose ideal it was to have the Bible translated into Afrikaans, in order that the word of God be spread to the 'coloured' population. The GRA then, was to set up spelling rules and calculate the number of Afrikaans speakers, criteria set up by the British and International Bible Association (Britse en Buitelandse Bybel Genootskap) before they would agree to a translation. The GRA's beginnings were thus not a politically motivated effort.

But, in portraying the organisation as the first association to work for the political recognition of Afrikaans, the GRA becomes the central and important issue in the museum. And, as I have shown, the various exhibits (their titles as well as their contents) point towards the instance of the birth of the GRA. Secondly, by concentrating on Gideon Malherbe in the lower section of the museum, the members of the GRA become, by extension as important as he seems to have been - for example the letters which offer him honorary membership. We then believe the efforts of these men and the GRA were the most important events in the history of the language.

The *exclusion* of Abubakr Effendi and Meurant aids this image. The *evidence* of these men, and their work, particularly Abubakr Effendi, is inconvenient, as it does not encourage the idea of Afrikaans being a white language. And as I have shown in previous chapters, this idea is crucial to the whole concept of Afrikanerdom. However, the exclusion of black people, and

specifically those persons involved with the language, such as Abubakr Effendi, also serves to underline the exclusivity of white Afrikaner *right* to the language, not only to it being white. The teachers whom I had spoken to for instance, though they had not been to the museum, referred to the *colonising* of *Afrikaans* by the Nationalist party. Here the word "colonising" also refers to exclusion, as an object, country, language had to belong to a particular group, before another group is able to "colonise" it. In effect what is happening, is the denial by both parties, of the others' involvement in the history, and of ownership, if the two are necessarily dependant on each other, of the Afrikaans language.

Combined with the above is the exclusion of white women, black women and black men (in total) from the exhibits. Although the women are not excluded totally, as in the examples of the women poets, Gideon's wives and mother, daughters, as well as Kaatjie Kekkelbek, the presentation is limited and limiting. The women are either passive, indulging in lacemaking, or the epitome of uncivilised people, for instance, Kaatjie. Thus what happens, using Elsie Cloete's term, is that women are placed in certain confinements, depending on their race, which once again, like the exclusion of Abubakr Effendi, aids the image of the GRA, and thus the men who made up the organisation, as active, public, - the makers of history. Conversely, though, it perpetuates the gendered images of women and men which are centred upon the difference, both the physical as well as the social, of the sexes. Subsequently, also their differing roles of woman in the

private and man in the public sphere. The exhibits as a whole, thus function a basis which ascribes to the ideal of patriarchy. The power, economic as well as social, is invested in the male section of the society.

Women are, as I have shown in chapter 9, constructed as "absent", in the sense that detail of their person and work is not provided, as it is with most of the GRA men, which in the latter case, broaden the characterisation of these men. Objects which could become representative of the female gender, become subsumed variously into categories which focus on their object- and not their use-value. Objects such as the baby cot and the kitchenware, which could, although in a limiting sense be said to represent women, fall under Furniture and Utensils. The other woman we find on this level, Kaatjie Kekkelbek, becomes, through the use of her as caricature, a metaphor for the failed British missionaries. Her dual role is therefore not only as a colonised woman, but as a figure who stands as an example of the inadequacy of the British system. Attention is thus not focused on her specifically as a colonised woman.

Yet, when we read Cloete (1992a; 1992b); and Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989), we find that women were not passive recipients of Afrikanerdom. White Afrikaner women participated actively in the construction of this, and therefore their, own separate Afrikaner identity. The image in the museum of the passive creatures are thus contrary to the reality, and amounts to, once again, the exclusion of this "inconvenient evidence" in

the making of history. The image of women is then not a reflection in the mirror of history, but a construction which aids a particular version of reality.

In chapter 10, too, "inconvenient evidence" of the involvement of the black community in the history of the Afrikaans language is uprooted for a simpler version - One which portrays the language as "white". But this version also excludes black men totally, the "great men" as well as the common, and depicts black women as immoral and licentious. Added to this, is the juxtapositioning of the caricature of Kaatjie Kekkelbek and that of the white women (specifically the Malherbe women who are "absent") in the museum, which serves to create the idea that femininity is the exclusive right of the white woman. A positive image of white women is thus constructed, compared to the negative one of Kaatjie Kekkelbek. And as this character is the only black person in the museum, it becomes representative of all black people, and serves to tell us, black people, that we are, and have been uncivilised inferior beings. The absence of images of black men, on the other hand, suggest that they do not exist within *this* reality, and therefore do not have to be dealt with. And as I have said in chapter 10, this eradication of true images of black people, in effect means a removal of the memory of black people in the 19th century, - truly a white-washing (removal of the blackness) of history.

Here the exclusion of black people, or their "absence" enhances the images of both the white man and woman, as they are portrayed

in the museum. From the above then, it seems that Fraser and Butler's (1986) idea that historical importance is equated to "being white" is indeed true. Going along through the exhibits we also find that the white history equals progress, for example, the titles of the exhibits all point towards the singular event of the germination of the language and the GRA. Black history however, does not exist within the context of the museum. This gives the impression that black history is stationary (and within the museum it is), and thus creates the idea that history belongs to white Afrikaners, i.e. that they are the makers of (important) history.

I have argued that the fabrication of an Afrikanerdom relies on the concept of exclusion of "others". But if we cast our minds back to chapter six, we will remember that Benedict Anderson (1991) talks about nations in terms of "imagined communities". Using his idea, I would again argue and caution, that we should regard the concept of the Afrikanerdom as an "imagining", as seen in Benedict's (1991) terms. Afrikaners and Afrikanerdom is imagined as a community, i.e. a unified grouping, by those who assume that others (whom he /she imagines is the neighbour next door), of the community, feels and thinks as he/she does. Thus, all those who are perceived to be different (not-white, not Afrikaans-speaking) are excluded from the community, and in essence do not belong to it.

The museum portrays the "imagined community" in the depiction of a unified SA, while the country only became a union in 1910.

Anderson (1991:12) for instance, says, "It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny". Although it was not chance that brought the Union into being, yet the quote suffices to portray the idea, as perceived by the newly established nation, of the inevitable emergence of this nation, and of its future.

Writing about the emergence of nations, and the change from religious modes of thought to the more secular, Benedict (1991:11) says "What then was required was a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning". In the present then, the museum portrays a unified SA, by focusing on the idea of the Afrikaner and the GRA, and so doing establishes a basis for the limitless future of the nation. In focusing on this unified "nation", it (the museum) disclaims a beginning (a rise) of the nation and thus - what is not born (but exists) cannot die. The exclusions, then, of white women as well as black women and men, suffice to create the idea that the only existing community is this white male nation.

But the exclusion of black history from the language museum, alienates the black community, which means that the museum drives away a huge percentage of its potential audience. If we think back, we will remember that the Afrikaans teachers had remarked that they would not take their students to the Afrikaans Taal Museum. This means that the current museum, in order to become attractive for its audience, must have a complete change-over.

But here one should also consider other attitudes, towards Afrikaans, in order to gauge whether a change in opinion about the exclusivity of Afrikaans could show the way to a new concept of the Afrikaans Taal museum. Here then, I will examine articles and letters from newspapers by academics and lay-people. George Weideman (Nov 1990), in his article "Afrikaans in Namibia: a Colonial Millstone?"¹⁴⁰, talks about the colonising of Afrikaans through the National Party regime¹⁴¹. He says

"....the lesser role that has been accorded Afrikaans in Namibia, that is to say, over the radio and especially the television and in the schools - notwithstanding the fact that Afrikaans is still the *lingua franca* - is due to the one of the biggest obstacles of apartheid: the misuse of Afrikaans by National Party ideologues¹⁴²"

In an interview, Prof Hans Du Plessis (Beeld Sat. 21 March 1992:11) says the following "The majority yes for change, this from the white Afrikaner as well, frees Afrikaans of its khaki clothes. With this, Afrikaans at last becomes part of Africa¹⁴³". Here, to me, "khaki clothes" implies its association with the

¹⁴⁰ "Afrikaans in Namibië. 'n Koloniale meulsteen?"

¹⁴¹ See also Steyn. J.C. 1990 Afrikaans in Opkoms. in Dolos1 p22.

¹⁴² "...die mindere rol wat tans in Namibië aan Afrikaans toegeken word, dit wil sê oor die radio en veral oor die televisie en op skool - ondanks die feit dat die taal steeds die *lingua franca* is - (is) te wyte aan een van die grootste struikelblokke van apartheid: die misbruik van Afrikaans deur Nasionale Party ideoloë."

¹⁴³ "Die oorweldigende ja vir hervorming ook van die blanke Afrikaner, verlos Afrikaans van sy Kakieklere. Hiermee word Afrikaans finaal deel van Afrika."

white Afrikaner. C.M. Stiemie (1990) has the following to say in a letter

"That it (Afrikaans) did not become the lingua franca, is mostly the fault of white Afrikaans speakers whom have held on to the belief that it is a 'Boerelanguage' which is the privilege only of 'true Afrikaners'¹⁴⁴".

In another article, this time Die Burger¹⁴⁵, the journalist comments on the exclusivity of Afrikaans. For example, that organisations involved with Afrikaans, such as the ATKV, are pronouncing a more open agenda, where "coloured people" are invited into these previously white organisations. Yet, many people protest against such initiatives. the writer goes on to say "Then it is pronounced that the Afrikaner 'identity' and 'that which belongs to the volk'- two highly misused word and phrase- are threatened.¹⁴⁶"

These quotes, taken from various newspapers, reiterate what the teachers have been saying, i.e. that Afrikaans has come to be associated with Afrikaner Nationalism. But now, with the language issues of a Post-Apartheid SA on the table, fear of losing the language has reared its head. Hans du Plessis (May 1991) writes about the language issue:

¹⁴⁴ "Dat dit (Afrikaans) nie die lingua franca geword het nie, is in groot mate die skuld van die wit Afrikaanssprekendes wat aan die geloof klou dat dit die 'Boeretaal' is waarop net sekere 'ware Afrikaners' reg het"

¹⁴⁵ Saturday 28 April 1990

¹⁴⁶ "Dan word verkondig dat die Afrikaanse 'identiteit' en 'volkseie' -twee skreiende misbruikte woorde- bedreig word."

" The indigenous languages have not given up anything in the new proposals, but rather receive new functions. Afrikaans is the one who must stand back, give up, because he is the language of the oppressor, it is him that is the Apartheidlanguage. If he is the language of the oppressor, and the beacon of an inhumane system, that is not the issue of the new South Africa : for it is the new South Africa with no discrimination. Or are the Afrikaans speakers not part of the new South Africa?"¹⁴⁷

Etienne Britz¹⁴⁸, in his article called "Dutch fear for Afrikaans, their other language"¹⁴⁹ writes about the fears of the Dutch academics about the future of Afrikaans. He quotes a Dutch magazine which argues that the two countries' cultural ties must now be strengthened. (There are also fears in the Netherlands that Dutch will become relegated to the status of a regional language, due to the role that English is playing in a unified Western-Europe.) Later in the article Britz has the following to say

"'Will Afrikaans have the same fate in South Africa that befell it in Namibia?' asked Dr. Ester. He feels

¹⁴⁷ " Die inheemse tale gee in die meeste voorstelle niks prys nie-hulle kry net funksies by. Afrikaans moet prysgee, tru staan, want hy is dan die taal van die onderdrukker, dit is hy wat apartheidstaal is. Of hy onderdrukkerstaal en merker van 'n onmenslike stelsel is, is mos juis in die nuwe Suid-Afrika nie ter sprake nie : dit is dan die diskriminasielose nuwe Suid Afrika. Of is die Afrikaanses nie deel van die nuwe Suid Afrika nie?"

¹⁴⁸ Die Burger Thursday 28 February 1991

¹⁴⁹ "Nederlanders vrees vir hul ander taal, Afrikaans."

that Afrikaans is entitled to a much stronger position than in Namibia. It is the homelanguage of more or less 5 million people - whites as well as non-whites - in South Africa and it has generated a rich literature: there is a library full of literature from the Cape and Transvaal'¹⁵⁰ .

The following quote is taken from an article with the title "Afrikaans in Misuse?"¹⁵¹ in which Prof J. C. Steyn (1990) answers questions from readers. Amid questions about Afrikaans in the business world, the idea that the higher economic group prefers to use English, above that of Afrikaans, the following question was raised: "It seems to me that Afrikaans is slowly reverting back to its Kitchenstatus. Or am I unduly concerned?"¹⁵² .

These ideas portray the idea that Afrikaans has come to seem a possession of the Afrikaner. Even the words portraying fear, attest to the fear of losing this "exclusive right" to the language. Another tendency is the "opening" of cultural organisations such as the ATKV and the Rapportryers to the black community. For example:

¹⁵⁰ "'Sal Afrikaans in Suid-Afrika deur dieselfde lot as in Namibië getref word?' vra dr Ester. Hy meen dat Afrikaans op 'n veel sterker posisie as in Namibië geregtig is. Dis immers die huistaal van minstens vyf miljoen mense - blankes sowel as nie-blankes - in Suid-Afrika en dit het 'n ryk literatuur ontwikkel : daar is biblioteke vol literatuur uit de Kaap en de Transvaal'".

¹⁵¹ "Afrikaans in Onbruik?"

¹⁵² "Vir my lyk dit asof Afrikaans stadig maar seker terugkeer na sy kombuistaalstatus. Of is ek sonder rede bekommerd?"

"To safeguard the future of the Afrikaans language and culture, all Afrikaans based cultural organisations, such as the Academy, FAK and Rapportriders, will have to be strengthened and built up. This will require the assistance of all Afrikaans speakers no matter race or colour, he (Dr Louw Alberts)¹⁵³ said¹⁵⁴". (Beeld 2/10/1991)

Openness also now includes professing Afrikaans as a language for all, for example,

"'If Afrikaans wants to survive, he will have to draw in all his speakers -including his coloured speakers- and start moving away from "pigment-Afrikaans"', said Mr Willem Louw, executive director of the Afrikaans Language-and Cultural Organisation¹⁵⁵". (Burger 11/10/1990)

"Afrikaans was born out of the lap of South Africa and everyone that lives or did live here, has been its nursemaid at one stage or other¹⁵⁶". (Burger 9/10/1987)

¹⁵³ Dr Louw Alberts is the chairman of the South African Academy for Science and Arts.

¹⁵⁴ "Om die toekoms van die Afrikaanse taal en kultuur te verseker, moet Afrikaansgegronde Kultuurorganisasies soos die Akademie, FAK, Voortrekkers en Rapportryers onder meer versterk en uitgebou word. Dit sal die betrokkenheid van alle Afrikaanssprekendes vereis, ongeag ras of kleur, het hy (Dr Louw Alberts) gesê."

¹⁵⁵ "'As Afrikaans wil oorleef, moet hy al sy sprekers -ook sy bruin sprekers- intrek en begin wegkom van pigmentasie Afrikaans', sê mnr Willem Louw, uitvoerende direkteur van die Afrikaanse Taal-en Kultuur".

¹⁵⁶ "Afrikaans is gebore uit die skoot van Suid-Afrika en almal wat hier is of was, het op die een of ander tyd voedvrou daarvoor gespeel."

If these words portray a new opening attitude this must also concur with the previous idea, i.e. that Afrikaans is intricately linked to Afrikanerdom.

According to these quotes, white Afrikaner attitudes to Afrikaans portray the idea of possession of the language, or fear of losing it. I cannot presume to say, or judge that the majority of white Afrikaners feel possessive about the language. Yet, these sentiments do exist, and they have to be taken into consideration when discussing the viability (and or, necessity?) of an Afrikaans Taal museum. On the other hand, the teachers with whom I had interviews all felt that if an alternative taalmuseum exists, that it should portray all the nuances of the language, meaning, all the political and social aspects thereof, that have been left out of the current museum. And here we find the crucial point to the whole thesis and the museum, i.e. the fact that the museum has depoliticised the language and the history, by exclusion of all the "inconvenient evidence". It has, however, politicised the white history, by invoking the "ancient" battle of the Afrikaner against the British.

Elizabeth Delmont (1992:1) when talking about the Voortrekker monument says the following, "I argue that whilst the past may be used to commemorate a history by documenting and recording, in the monument the past is recalled selectively as part of a deliberate campaign to construct, foster and mobilize the Afrikaner identity in the 1930's." While Farieda Khan (1992:1) says "While the Voortrekker monument is not a proclaimed

national monument, it was nevertheless erected as a national heritage structure on stateland and largely paid for by state funds". She goes on to say, "By exploiting and perpetuating the racism which characterises our society, exclusivist heritage structures such as the Voortrekker Monument and the Strijdom Monument have contributed significantly to the polarisation of attitudes to the question of heritage between blacks and whites." These quotes show that, like the language museum, the Voortrekker Monument and the Strijdom Monument are linked to the building up and establishment of the myth of the Afrikaner through the Nationalist Party.

Secondly, Robert F. Haswell (1986:45) argues that the designation of monuments in the period 1970-1980, grew from an average number of ten to 86. Haswell (1986:45) goes on to notice that during these periods "...other ethnic groups have been excluded from official conservation activities". Khan (1992:2) too, writes, "An examination of the list of proclaimed monuments, confirms the almost complete exclusion of the perceptions and values of black South Africans, thus reflecting their disempowered status".

It is obvious then, that if these monuments are linked to the NP, and black people have remained outside of the structures of heritage management, that this stasis has to be broken. The language museum, for instance, as a history of Afrikaans, is a symbol of Afrikanerdom. Just as Afrikaans has become a millstone in Namibia, so a similar situation has arisen in South Africa. By extension then, the museum has taken on the same qualities.

Because of the perception of the language as an instrument of the oppressor, and the imagery of apartheid that is associated with it, there cannot be a justification or a hope of retaining the museum in a Post-Apartheid South Africa.

The Americans have problems concerning heritage management, akin though not similar to those we will have to tackle. American museums, at least one aspect of it, are concerned with their role, as well as that of Native Americans, in the heritage management of the Native American culture. The Native Americans, like the black people of South Africa, have been historically disempowered and excluded from the structures and practices of museum studies. However, when Native Americans started voicing their discontent, American museums had to begin to address

"... the repatriation and possible reburial of at least a part of their Native American collections"

(Thompson 1991:37). Thompson (1991:38) writes

"Indians are at an disadvantage when it comes to preserving and controlling their heritage, because they generally lack a solid institutional base that can provide the continuity from the past into the future. Other groups in American society have been able to create such institutional bases by establishing and maintaining museums that permit them to take control of their heritage and their interpretation of it".

However, there are museums that are changing their act and, as Roth (1991:41) says, "... (are) trying its mission of preserving the nation's material culture with the needs and desires of native people's". These include the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Harvard University; Museum Of New Mexico; Science Museum of Minnesota; Alaska State Museum and the Missouri Historical Society. These changes are mostly about the repatriation of skeletal remains of native American people to their respective tribes. The means of accomplishing this though, differ. The Peabody Museum, for instance, returned Omaha tribal goods to their rightful owners only after the tribe had contacted the museum, while the museum of New Mexico follows a "... 'pro-active' policy on repatriation...", contracting tribes, informing them of material the museum has in its possession, and consulting "...with the tribes on the disposition of sensitive materials" (Roth 1991:43). The Alaska State Museum and the Tlingets have extended their relationship - they have joint ownership over some objects housed in the museum, but over which the Tlingets have borrowing privileges. These museums had to change their practices concerning artefacts and human remains which belong to the Native American people. Yet, within these changes, or pro-active stances the battle remains - who owns these "goods" and tied up with this; who owns the past? Roth's (1991:41) quote, for instance talks about "...the needs and desires..." of the Native Americans, and the museum's "...mission of preserving the nation's material culture."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ My emphasis.

The question in South Africa is the same - Who owns the Past? Up to now, as reflected in the language museum, it has been the ruling government. And if we are to address the imbalances in South Africa's museums and monuments, how will we even begin? Farieda Khan (1992:4) proposes a few problems that have to be dealt with in reassessing conservation heritage, however it is possible to use these as a model. The four issues to be looked at are:

- 1) The feeling of hostility towards heritage conservation present in black communities.
- 2) Apathy and lack of concern in black communities.
- 3) Politico-Historical values that are seen as important in communities whose values have been ignored.
- 4) Necessity of relating conservation to basic needs and rights, for example housing and education.

These issues might change the nature of museums and monuments, not only the approach to heritage. For instance, we cannot really conceive of a language museum, as it presently stands, and here I mean the structure and not the contents or story, if we are to consider the above questions. What would probably work more effectively, would be what Danilov (1991:53) calls "Shared museum/Cultural complexes". Under these complexes, museums, historical societies, galleries, symphonies and theatres are all housed under one roof (Danilov 1991:53). Most of the advantages of these structures are geared towards cost efficiency. As well as the idea that it becomes a drawcard for the public, as it comes in an era of commercialism and comfort of which malls are

the epitome. However, the idea holds a promise for South African museums, although hopefully not based on the idea of financial gains.

The idea which I would propose is having a complex which houses a museum, a civic centre, an art and/or, support centre, which means that the museum complex becomes a place where people's needs are also met. With "people" I mean those who have been historically disadvantaged, as well as the advantaged, thus the whole museum audience. If it also houses a theatre, the latter should actively be linked with the museum, as must the other structures, for example, through interpretive theatre. With interpretive theatre, scenes from the past are enacted for example, in open-air museums. Interpretive theatre has through "Re-creations of local elections, community meetings, court trials...been used to reveal conflicting points of view within society, as well as to engage the intellectual participation of visitors by encouraging them to register their own judgements on the issue" (Alsford and Barry 1991:9). For example, the language museum can remain as it is, but, through interpretive theatre the "other" story of Afrikaans is acted out. Visitors are asked to compare the two histories, as well as to criticise both. The theatre is then directly linked to the museum, which enables both to be engaging and dynamic. As Alsford and Barry (1991:11) write, when discussing the Canadian Museum of Civilisation's programme, which centres on the performance of traditional arts or rituals of Indian life, "One of the goals of this programme is to give an added dimension to the traditional museum experience, by using

the performing arts to interpret aspects of heritage (eg. cultural traditions) more effectively than the static objects are able." And more importantly, they go on to say "Another is to bring a certain dynamism into public programming that will encourage frequent return visits, as well as first time visits by people who have dismissed museums as previously as passive, uninteresting experiences" (Alsford and Barry 1991:11).

The importance of the shared complexes should not be the cost effectiveness such a complex offers, although that would be an added bonus, but the fact that it would be a place where the imbalances of present conservation heritage is redressed. James W. Volkert (1991:46) quoting John Cotton Dana, curator of Newark museum in 1909, writes about museums "A good museum attracts, entertains, arouses curiosity, leads to questioning, and thus promotes learning". But Dana goes on to say "The museum can help people only if they use it; they will use it only if they know about it and only if attention is given to interpretation of its possessions in terms they, the people, will understand" (Volkert 1991:46).

Here the experience of the American museums shows us a way out. The relationship between these institutions and the Native American communities, ensure that the latter have been actively involved in conservation structures. Although it is small, it is an important step; especially as seen from the South African context. The shared complexes would assure that the public is drawn to the museum, but the onus is still on the museum to

inform the people of its mission and its work. Thus, if the Afrikaans Taal museum wants to be more accountable, it has to balance its presentation of history, and tell the other side of the story, but, equally it has to convert its audience into the museum culture.

At the beginning of this chapter I had said that my mind was settled on the idea that the Taal museum is an expression of Afrikaner Nationalism. Coming to the end of the chapter and this thesis, after reading numerous articles and many deliberations, I am more convinced of this notion. We cannot hope to retain the museum as an institution that displays public history, even if we argue that it stands as a monument (sic) of the effects of Apartheid, and should thus be preserved as such. For the symbolic, and political nature of Afrikaans is such, that a complete reassessment of the nature of a language museum must be made. This does not mean that we should forget that Afrikaans is, to many, the language they have been oppressed in, but it should not be revered as a symbol of Afrikanerdom as it is now, not even as a glimpse on the past.

H. C. Hummel (1992:1) writes, talking about the fact that museum policy-makers and those involved as "curators of history" are now struggling with re-representations of South African history, that,

"...they can take courage that they are not alone.

They are part of a world-wide challenge facing (and being faced up to to some extent) by museums in other

heterogeneously populated countries, where race, if not by apartheid, by long entrenched separatist attitudes nevertheless, and equally long entrenched social class and gender differentials, tended until recently to convey a one sided dimension of a county's history in public, including museum displays."

It is a sadness that Hummel (1992) is moved to make such a statement, and even sadder that it is true - that marginalised communities have to voice (as the Native Americans did) their discontent, or that I had to engage in a criticism of the Afrikaans Taal museum, a language I call my mother tongue.

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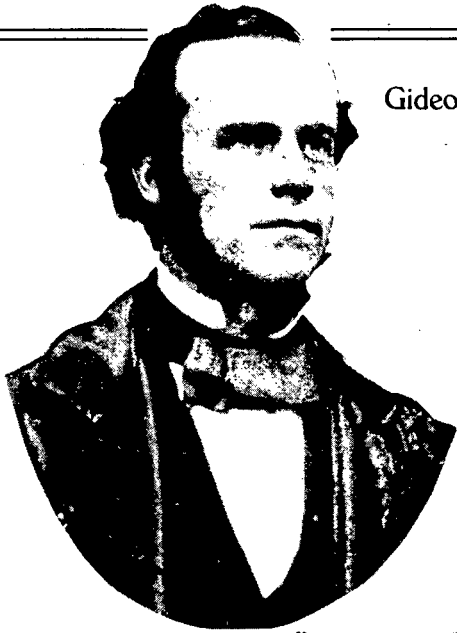
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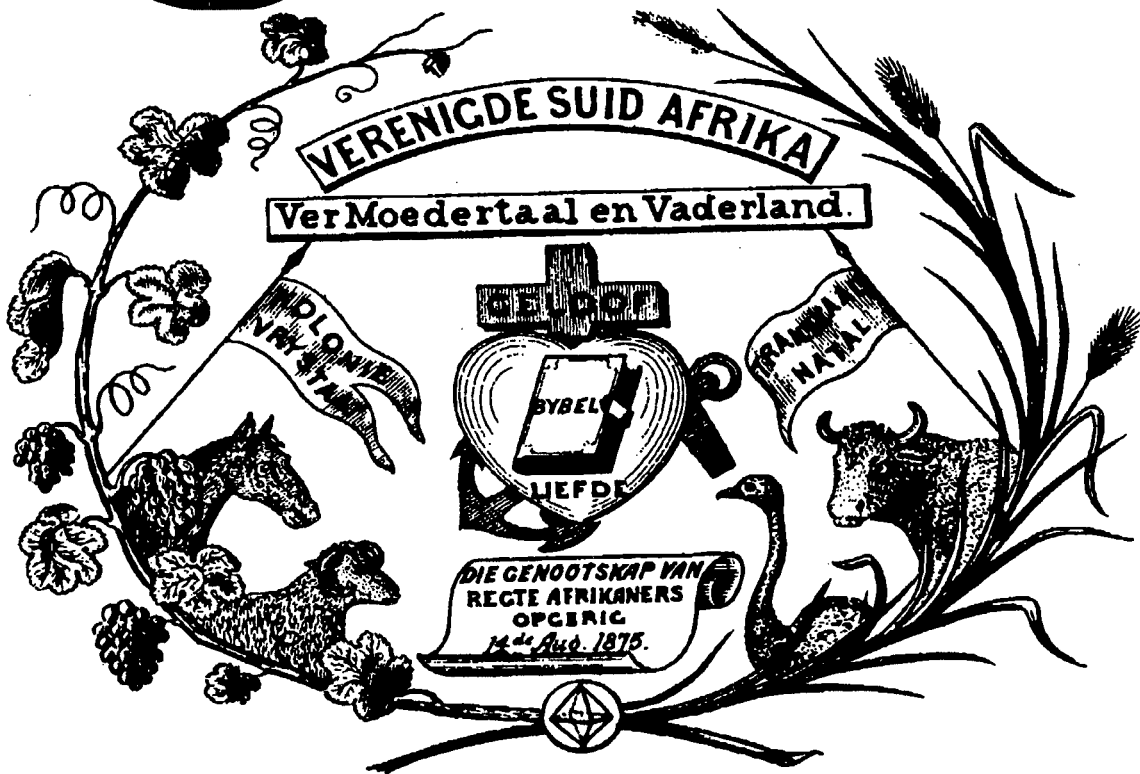
APPENDIX 1



Gideon Malherbe



S.J. du Toit



Afrikaans my Moedertaal?

'n Werkboek vir Sêkondere leerlinge en Onderwysers

Uitleg: Alicia Monis

Geskep in samewerking met
Community Education Resources

Opgedra aan:

Die dosente en studente van Onderwyskollege Athlone, Paarl.

Erkennings: Alicia Monis en Community Education Resources wil graag hul dank uitspreek teenoor die dosente van Onderwyskollege Athlone te Paarl, maar veral Mnr Raymond Cornellisen en die O.D. 3 klas van 1992. Sonder jul bydrae sou die projek nooit die lig kon sien nie. Innige dank aan HAUM Literêr (Pretoria) vir toestemming om uittreksels uit Jean Goosen se "Ons is nie almal so nie" te gebruik. Dank ook aan Me. Odette Monis en Mnr. Rushdi Nackerdien vir die proefleesing. En laastens dank aan Me. Erica Johnson.

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Enige deel van die boek mag gereproduseer word vir opvoedkundige doeleindes, op voorwaarde dat die bron weergegee word. Geen deel van hierdie pakket mag vir verkoop word nie.

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Wat is die Pakket

Die pakket is 'n los-blad folio wat opgestel is vir onderwysers en studente. Die pakket konsentreer op die ideologiese aard van taal, en veral dié van Afrikaans. Vir dié doeleinde, maak dit gebruik van feministiese kritiek om die ideologie te ontbloot. Dit poog ook om 'n verduideliking van feminisme te gee, en te wys hoe dit in die konteks van die taal in die klaskamer gebruik kan word.

Wie kan die pakket gebruik?

Soos reeds gestel, is dit vir die gebruik van **taalonderwysers en studente, asook leerling onderwysers**. Die pakkie is so opgestel dat dit tydens klasure gebruik kan word. Maar omdat die sillabusse so druk is, is die pakket ook bruikbaar buite die klaskamer. Ek sou aanbeveel dat dit aangebied word vir **studente vanaf standerd ag tot matriek, asook Hoër Onderwys diploma studente**.

Hoe het die pakket ontstaan?

Ek is 'n Meesters student in argeologie, maar ook verbonde aan Community Education Resources, of C.E.R. C.E.R. beoog om deur die Masters Student Programme, of MSP, studente, ofte wel die akademika en die gemeenskap nader aan mekaar te bring. Dit word gedoen deurdat die Meesters studente wat aan die program deelneem, hulle betrokke werkstukke, of tesse toeganklik maak vir die publiek in die vorm van boeke, of 'n pakket werksinkels, of 'n video. Die studente moet, as deel van die proses, met 'n gemeenskapsorganisasie saamwerk. Dit word gedoen sodat die uiteindelijke produk, of dit die boek of video is, tog bruikbaar is vir die gemeenskap. Dit beteken dat die taal, die terme, en die informasie wat oorgedra word, maklik verstaanbaar moet wees, en ook oorgedra kan word.

My tesis is 'n kritiek van die Afrikaans Taalmuseum in Paarl, ten opsigte van die ideologie wat dit uitdra en die karakterisering van man en vrou in die museum. Die eerste stap was om kontak te maak met onderwysers en hul dan in te lig oor my program by C.E.R. Die tweede stap, om die informasie in 'n produk oor te dra, was om werksinkels uit te werk en die dan uit te toets by die Onderwyskollege Athlone in die Paarl. Daarna was dit ure se werk voor die komper, en dan om die pakket te laat druk.

C.E.R. is verbonde aan die Centre for African Studies te Universiteit van Kaapstad. Vir meer informasie kan U skryf aan Me. R. Meny-Gibert wat die program-leier is. U kan skryf aan Community Education Resources, Centre for African Studies, Private Bag, U.C.T., Rondebosch, 7700.

Hoe om die Pakket te gebruik

Die losblad folio vergemaklik die gebruik van die pakket omdat u die relevante werkswinkel kan uithaal, en gebruik, sonder om die hele pakket te hoef saamneem.

Soos u uit die inhoudsopgawe kan agterkom, is die pakket opverdeel in 18 bladsye. Die eerste drie bladsye is toegewy aan 'n kennismaking met die pakket. Vanaf bladsy vier tot vyftien, word die werksinkels uiteengesit. Na elke uiteensetting van die werkswinkel, is daar 'n verduideliking van die werkswinkel, om die gebruik daarvan te vergemaklik. Daar is ook 'n verduideliking van die evaluasie wat die studente van Onderwyskollege Athlone gedoen het, en party van die probleme wat ek teëgekóm het, toe ek die werksinkels by die kollege gedoen het. Daar is ook 'n blaaï wat u die kans sal gun om die pakket te evalueer. Daarna is daar 'n lys van interessante artikels en boeke wat ek teëgekóm het, asook spasie om nog artikels en boeke by te voeg.

Die werksinkels en die verduidelikings daarvan is in vier verskillende kleure, om die gebruik daarvan te vergemaklik. Die hulpmiddels is gemerk en aangedui met watter werkswinkel dit gebruik moet word.

Na elke werkswinkel, is daar 'n blaaï met die opskrif "Hoe om die werkswinkel te gebruik". Dit is 'n verduideliking in diepte van die werkswinkel, verduidelikings van party van die konsepte, asook die besprekings wat die fasiliteerder maak en party van die probleme wat ek ondervind het. Die beste manier om deur die werksinkels te gaan, is om die uiteensetting te lees, en dan die verduidelikings van die werksinkels. Alhoewel ek so ver as moontlik al die konsepte in die verduidelikings probeer uiteenset het, sal daar 'n paar konsepte wees wat u miskien nie mee bekend is nie. In die geval nooi ek u uit om aan my te skryf. Aan die ander kant, sal ek sekerlik konsepte verduidelik wat u goed ken. Wel, dan sal ek net verskoning moet vra.

Die werksinkels is min of meer 35 minute lank, om in 'n klastydperk in te pas. Indien die werkswinkel te lank is, kan u die werkswinkel opbreek waar u goeddink. Ek het ook sekere plekke gemerk (>) waar u die breuk kan maak. Elke werkswinkel het aparte vrae vir die evaluering. Dit sal goed wees om die verskillende evaluasies van elke student te hou, omdat dit u sal help om u eie evaluasie te kan doen.

Werkswinkels by Onderwyskollege Athlone **en Evaluasie deur studente**

Ek het die werkswinkels gedoen met studente by Onderwyskollege Athlone te Paarl, in 1992. Die studente was derdejaar Onderwys Diploma studente. As gevolg van tyd was die vier werkswinkels as twee gedoen, en dit in twee lesure van een/tweeure elk gedoen. Die getalle van die studente het gewissel van 20 tot 25. Die klas was dus klein genoeg om die studente maksimaal te betrek. Ek het tog die gevoel gehad dat nie almal die vrymoedigheid gehad het om te praat nie.

Die studente het in hulle evaluasie van die twee werkswinkels, dit as beide nuttig en interessant bestempel. Een student het byvoorbeeld geskryf dat die eerste deel van die werkswinkel die interressante was, i.e. die deel wat wys hoedat "...taal gebruik was om te manipuleer en te onderdruk." Op die vraag "Het u die werkswinkel interessant gevind en hoekom?" het 'n student dit te sê gehad, "Ja, omdat dit anders is as gewoonlik. Ons was die kans gegun om dit wat ons gedink het weer te gee. A.G.V. dat ons op gelyke geplaas was, was dit moontlik om met meer vrymoedigheid met mekaar te kommunikeer." Die studente was dit ook eens dat die werkswinkels geskik sou wees vir sêkondere studente.

Kritiek wat gelewer is, het gehandel oor my rol as fasiliteerder, nl. dat ek moet waak om nie weggevoer te word nie. Waar die literatuur bespreek word, het die studente gevra dat meer tyd bestee moet word aan die seksie. Ek het toe gevolglik nog 'n seksie bygevoeg, i.e. die studente bespreek 'n gedig of deel uit 'n novelle wat voorgeskryf is. Hulle het ook kritiek gelewer dat groep besprekings nie meer gebruik is nie.

Die sessies by die kollege het my die kans gegun om die werkswinkels te toets. Ongelukkig kon ek dit nie in die huidige vorm op die toets stel nie. Veral nie of die werkswinkels logies op mekaar volg nie. Maar dit het gelei, soos hierbo beskryf word, na veranderings wat ek aan die werkswinkels aanbring het. Aan die ander kant was dit ook 'n manier om die studente se reaksies te sien, en sodoende te bepaal of sekere vrae sou werk of nie.

Werkswinkel 1

Titel: Afrikaans my Moedertaal.

Opsomming van werkswinkel 1: Die woorde "moedertaal" en "vaderland", word ondersoek.

Verduidelik dat dit die eerste werkswinkel in 'n reeks van 4 is.

Speletjie: Twee studente word gekies om deur middel van mimiek die spreekwoorde 1) Die son trek water, en 2) Agter os kom ook in die kraal, te demonstreer. Die ander studente moet die spreekwoorde probeer verklaar. (5min)

Benodighede: Vier flitskaarte met die woorde "moeder", "vader", "moedertaal", "vaderland". AL vier flitskaarte is by die pakket ingesluit.

Tyd: 35min

Werkswinkel

Speletjie: Doen speletjie, soos bo beskryf.

- 1) Groep: Gebruik die woorde "moeder" en "vader", en vra studente om woorde neer te skryf wat die twee woorde omskryf. (5min)
- 2) Onderwyser: Skryf 'n paar woorde wat die studente neergeskryf het, op die bord neer, en probeer om rondom hul woorde stereotiperings op te bou. *Byvoorbeeld: mooi en grimering, sag en vroulik vir vrou ; en dan gesag en broodwinner, gespierd en sterk vir man.* (5min)
- 3) Groep: Vra die studente om te ondersoek hoe ons aan die stereotipes kom. (5min)
- >
- 4) Onderwyser en groep: Gee 'n samevatting van die bogenoemde. Begin praat oor die plaaslike situasie, i.e. (i) dat vrouens wel die broodwinners is in party huishoudings, (ii) praat oor seksuele geweld. (5min)
- 5) Groep: Bring die woorde "moedertaal" en "vaderland" in by die gesprek oor die temas. Watter implikasies het die karakterisering van "vrou" en "man", vir die woorde "moedertaal" en "vaderland"? (5min)
- 6) Evaluasie. (5min).

Hoe om Werkswinkel 1 te gebruik

Wat dit behels: In die werkswinkel word die woorde "moedertaal" en "vaderland" van nader ondersoek, in terme van die emosies (polities, sowel as persoonlik), wat die woord ontketen.

Onthou: 1) Vier flitskaarte met die woorde "moeder"; "vader"; "moederland"; en "vaderland".
2) Let op na die tydsindeling.

Indeling van Werkswinkel:

Doen mimiek speletjie soos beskryf op bladsy vyf.
Die speletjie word gedoen vir ontspanning alleenlik.

1) Plak die twee flitskaarte met die woorde "moeder" en "vader" langs mekaar op die bord neer. Vra die studente om twee woorde op 'n papier neer te skryf wat die woorde omskryf. Skryf die woorde op die bord neer, onder "moeder" en "vader". Woorde om na op te let is "skoonheid", "vroulik", en "sag" vir "moeder". Woorde soos "sterk", "manlik", en "broodwinner" vir "vader".

Die woorde "moeder" en "vader" word aan die begin van die werkswinkel gebruik in plaas van "moedertaal" en "vaderland" want 'n mens assosieer sekere gevoelens makliker met die eerste twee woorde as die laaste.

2) Vra die studente om woorde op te noem wat onder die woord "moeder" val, wat saamgegroepeer kan word. 'n Voorbeeld is "sag" en "vroulik". Doen dieselfde vir "vader". Woorde wat groepeer kan word is byvoorbeeld "sterk" en "manlik".

Die rede hoekom die woorde gegroepeer word, en die temas opgestel word, is sodat die studente bewus word dat die woorde partykeer 'n idee oordra, byvoorbeeld dat vroue sag en vroulik is.

3) Nadat u die temas rondom die woorde opgebou het vra die studente hoe ons van die temas bewus word. Idees om na op te let is die volgende:

1. Ons leer dit by die skool.
2. Ons leer dit by die huis.
3. Ons leer dit by die kerk.

Noem dit aan die studente dat ons die idees kan saamvat in die woord "Gemeenskap". Vra studente of hulle aan enige ander invloed kan dink wat "moeders" en "vaders" in 'n sekere lig stel. Sê dat die gemeenskap ons leer dat "moeders" en "vaders" verskillend optree, byvoorbeeld dat "moeders" sag en mooi is, en dat "vaders" die broodwinners en die sterk een is.

4) Praat oor die plaaslike situasie, vra of die vader altyd die broodwinner is, en of die moeder altyd sag en mooi is. Saam met die gesprek wat die studente voer, noem dit aan hulle dat seksuele molestering ook plaasvind. Tog word dit nie in die temas weerspieel nie.

Onder nommers 3 en 4 het die studente bewus geword dat die temas nie in 'n vakuum bestaan nie, maar dat dit weergegee word in die gemeenskap. Dit word ook nou duidelik dat die woorde nie altyd 'n werklikheid weerspieel nie.

5) Plaas die flitskaarte met die woorde "Moedertaal" en "Vaderland" bokant dié van "moeder" en "vader" sodat dit ooreenstem met die verskillende kolomme. Verwys die studente na die kolomme, en die woorde wat hulle gebruik het om die woorde "moeder" en "vader" te beskryf. Vra hulle of die woorde betekenis het as dit in verband gebring word met die woorde "moedertaal" en "vaderland", as hulle aan Afrikaans en aan die RSA dink. Gebruik die studente se antwoorde om by hulle die idee bekend te stel dat die woord "moedertaal", omdat dit die woord "moeder" insluit, 'n sekere idee van die taal aan ons wil voorree, i.e. dat dit ons beskerm, dat ons daaraan behoort, en dit aan ons is soos 'n ma aan 'n kind. "Vaderland" probeer weer aan ons sê dat die land soos 'n vader ons sal beskerm. Tog is dit beide baie keer nie gebaseer op die werklikheid nie.

6) Sê aan die studente dat die tweede werkswinkel konsentreer op die idee dat die karakterisering van "man" en "vrou" baie keer 'n stereotipe is, wat nie op die werklikheid baseer is nie.

7) Evaluasie.

- 1) Vra die studente hoe hulle die werkswinkel gevind het, en wat hulle geniet het.
- 2) Vra studente of daar enigiets nuuts was wat hulle geleer het.
- 3) Vra die studente hoe die struktuur van die werkswinkel hul bydraes beïnvloed het.
- 4) Vra die studente hoe u as fasiliteerder die werkswinkel behartig het.
- 5) Vra die studente of die werkswinkel logies was in progressie.

Werkswinkel 2

Titel: Feminisme en literatuur.

Opsomming van werkswinkel 2: Die werkswinkel pas toe dit wat in die vorige werkswinkel bespreek is, deur te kyk na paragrawe uit geskrewe werke en dit dan te kritiseer.

Verduidelik dat dit die tweede werkswinkel van vier is.

Hersiening van werkswinkel 1. (5min)

Speletjie: 'n Paar studente noem 'n advertensie wat op televisie vertoon word wat hulle nie van hou nie, en hoekom. (5min)

Benodig: Paragraaf uit gedig of novelle wat die studente die jaar studeer. Jean Goosen se "Ons is nie almal so nie", onderhoud in die "Vrye Weekblad". Beide die onderhoud en die paragraaf uit Me. Goosen se novelle is by die pakket ingesluit.

Tyd: 35min

Werkswinkel

Speletjie: Doen speletjie soos bo beskryf.

- 1) Onderwyser: Neem 'n deel uit 'n voorgeskrewe gedig of novelle en doen 'n feministiese kritiek daarvan, gebaseer op wat die studente gesê het. Gebruik Jean Goosen se "Ons is nie almal so" en veral haar karakterisering van "vrou", en vergelyk dit met die gedig of novelle. (10min)

>

- 2) Maak gebruik van haar onderhoud in die "Vrye Weekblad", oor die taal, en karakterisering. Praat oor taalvariante, die taal wat Goosen gebruik, die taal van ons huise, die taal van boeke. Vra die studente of hulle vind dat die taal en karakterisering van mans en vroue in Jean Goosen se "Ons is nie almal so nie"; of in die gedig of novelle wat hul studeer, op 'n meer tasbare werklikheid gegrond is. Bring dit tuis dat die taal nie neutraal is nie, dat die patriargale taal elke dag in gebruik is, dat dit kulturele lyne oorskry. (10min)

- 3) Evaluasie. (5min)

Hoe om Werkswinkel 2 te gebruik

Wat dit behels: In die werkswinkel word die karakterisering van "vrou" en "man" uit 'n novelle, of 'n gedig, vergelyk met dié van Jean Goosen in haar boek "Ons is nie almal so nie." Dit word gedoen in aansluiting met Werkswinkel 1.

Onthou: 1) Paragraaf uit voorgeskrewe novelle of gedig.
2) Paragraaf uit Jean Goosen se "Ons is nie almal so nie."; paragraaf uit die "Vrye Weekblad".
3) Let op na die tydsindeling.

Hersiening van werkswinkel 1:

- 1) Vra die studente wat die tema van werkswinkel 1 was.
- 2) Vra die studente watter tema opgebou was rondom die woorde "moeder" en "vader".
- 3) Vra die studente watter kritiek daarteen gelewer is.

Indeling van Werkswinkel:

Doen advertensie speletjie soos beskryf op bladsy ag.

Die speletjie word gedoen vir ontspanning alleenlik.

1) U moet die studente vra om die paragraaf uit 'n gedig of novelle te analiseer ten opsigte van die voorstelling van die man en die vrou. Verwys hulle terug na die eerste werkswinkel en die bespreking wat gevoer is oor die karakterisering van "moeder" en "vader". Wat is die karakterisering van die man en vrou in die gedig of novelle, en vergelyk dit met die van "moeder" en "vader"? Vra die studente nou om die karakterisering van die vrou in Jean Goosen se "Ons is nie almal so." te analiseer en te vergelyk met dié van die gedig of novelle.

Deur die twee stukke literatuur te vergelyk, word die studente bewus dat die idee van 'n vrou of man nie 'n konstante gegewe idee is nie.

2) Verwys die studente na die taalgebruik van die twee gegewe stukke. Vra hulle om dit met mekaar te vergelyk. Is daar enige verskil, en as daar is, wat is dit? Vra dan die studente watter taal hulle sou verkies, dié van Goosen, of van die gedig of novelle, en hoekom. Lees dan die onderstreepte paragrawe uit die onderhoud en vra die studente of hulle saamstem met haar idees, en waarom hulle so voel. Gee dan 'n samevatting deur te sê dat twee verskillende skrywers 'n man of 'n vrou verskillend kan weergee, soos daar wel verskillende karakters is van "man" en "vrou".

Werkswinkel 3

Titel: Voorwerpe en Museums.

Opsomming van werkswinkel 3: Hierdie werkswinkel konsentreer op die konneksie tussen voorwerpe en die idee dat dit die konsep van "man" en "vrou" kan voorstel.

Verduidelik dat dit die derde werkswinkel is van vier.

Hersiening van werkswinkel 2. (5min).

Speletjie: Bespreek musiek waarvan die studente hou. (5min)

Benodighede: Kombuis gereedskap soos 'n mes, 'n hammer, 'n mans en vroue skoene, naaldwerk, en 'n man se skeermes.

Tyd: 35 minute

Werkswinkel

Speletjie: Doen speletjie soos hierbo beskryf.

- 1) Groep: Vra die groep om die kombuis implement, hamer, skoene, breinaalde en wol, en mans skeermes te identifiseer in terme van wie (man of vrou) dit moontlik aan sal behoort. Vra 'n student om die antwoorde op die bord neer te skryf, in die kategorieë. (5min).
 - 2) Groep: Vra die groep hoe hulle tot hul antwoorde gekom het. (10min).
- >
- 3) Onderwyser: Verduidelik, met gebruik van die studente se voorbeelde, dat voorwerpe somtyds gebruik word om "man" of "vrou" voor te stel. Verduidelik dat museums ook gebruik maak van taal, d.m.v. teks om 'n sekere storie voor te stel en die idee van "man" en "vrou" voor te bring. (5min).
 - 4) Groep: Vra die studente hoe hulle, as besoekers na die museum, sal weet watter voorwerpe 'n man, of 'n vrou sal voorstel. Verduidelik dat museums gebruik maak van voorwerpe en taal, om 'n sekere storie voor te stel. Omdat museums gebruik maak van voorwerpe, is dit nie in 'n vakuum opgerig nie, en sal altyd die ideologie van 'n sekere tyd voorstel. (10min).
 - 5) Evaluasie. (5min).

Hoe om Werkswinkel 3 te gebruik

Wat dit behels: Waar werkswinkels 1 en 2 gekonsentreer het op taal, sal werkswinkels 3 en 4 konsentreer op voorwerpe, en hoe dit "man" of "vrou" kan voorstel.

Onthou: 1) Kombuis gereedskap soos 'n mes; 'n hamer; 'n mans en vroue skoën; breinaalde en wol; 'n man se skeermes.
2) Let op na die tydsindeling.

Hersiening van werkswinkel 2:

- 1) Vra die studente wat die doel van werkswinkel 2 was.
- 2) Vra die studente op watter manier is dit oorgedra is.

Indeling van werkswinkel:

Doen musiek speletjie soos beskryf op bladsy elf.
Die speletjie word gedoen vir ontspanning alleenlik.

1) Die identifikasie van die voorwerpe kan vergelyk word met die temas wat aan die woorde "man" en "vrou" gegee is. Die name van die voorwerpe moet eers neergeskryf word, en naas dit, aan wie dit behoort, man of vrou. U kan dan die studente vra om al die voorwerpe wat aan die man behoort te groepeer, so ook die van die vrou.

2) Vra die studente hoe hulle aan die antwoorde gekom het. Die antwoorde hoef nie op die bord neergeskryf te word nie. Soos met werkswinkel een mag die studente wel huis, tradisie, skool, en miskien ook die samelewing opnoem.

Onder nommer 1 en 2 het die studente dieselfde analise gedoen as in werkswinkel 1. Die idee wat hieruit spruit is dat die karakterisering van "man" en "vrou" beide deur woorde en voorwerpe oorgedra kan word. Die voorwerpe wat gebruik word, is almal voorwerpe wat ons maklik met of "man" of "vrou" kan vergelyk.

3) Sê aan die studente dat hulle gewys het dat die samelewing (soos met die woorde "moeder" en "vader"), aan ons sê watter voorwerpe aan "man" en aan "vrou" behoort. Wat dit eintlik ook sê, is dat ons die voorwerpe in gelyk met "man" of "vrou" kan stel. Dus is skeermes = man, en naaldwerk = vrou. Ons kan dus sê dat die voorwerpe gebruik word om die idee van "vrou" en "man" voor te stel. Sê dat voorwerpe dan ook in museums gebruik word vir dié doel, i.e. om "man" en "vrou" voor te stel deur middel van voorwerpe, soos byvoorbeeld 'n vrou se hoed, of 'n man se jas. Sê ook dat taal baie keer saam met 'n voorwerp gebruik word om die karakterisering van "man" of "vrou" voor te stel. Die mans jas word byvoorbeeld ten toon gestel, en 'n plakaat word onder aan gestel wat die woorde "Mans 19e-eeuse jas."

Die museum; wat die voorwerpe in hul ekshibisies gebruik is dus nie in 'n vakuum opgerig nie. Dit het uit 'n sekere tydperk ontstaan toe die opbou van Afrikaner etos belangrik was. Tweedens maak dit ook gebruik van voorwerpe wat soos ons gesien het, altyd in 'n sekere konteks ontstaan, en omdat dit taal gebruik om items of voorwerpe te verduidelik, sal die taal altyd 'n sekere ideologie voorstel.

4) Evaluasie:

- 1) Vra studente hoe hulle die werkswinkel gevind het, en of hulle dit geniet het.
- 2) Vra studente of daar enigiets nuuts was wat hulle geleer het.
- 3) Is daar 'n konneksie tussen werksinkels 1 en 2?
- 4) Is daar enige kritiek?

Notas:

[illegible]

Werkswinkel 4

Titel: Voorwerpe en Feminisme.

Opsomming van werkswinkel 4: Hierdie werkswinkel is die laaste in die reeks. Dit volg op die vorige werkswinkel, en konsentreer ook op die bewys dat objekte, soos woorde, ook 'n sekere ideologie oordra. Dit verduidelik ook dat dieselfde woorde en objekte wat 'n sekere ideologie oordra, gebruik kan word om teen die ideologie te spreek.

Hersiening van werkswinkel 3. (5min)

Speletjie: Studente noem een van hul geliefkose kledingstukke. (5min)

Benodig: 'n T-hemp, 'n oorring, 'n tandeborsel, Rape Crisis blaai. Laasgenoemde is by die pakket ingesluit.

Tyd: 35 minute

Werkswinkel

Speletjie: Doen speletjie soos hierbo beskryf.

- 1) Groep: Vra groep om die t-hemp, 'n oorring, 'n tandeborsel te identifiseer in terme van "man" en "vrou". (5min)
- 2) Groep: Vra studente wie die t-hemp sal dra as die woorde "Women against violence against women" op die t-hemp staan. (5min)
- >
- 3) Onderwyser: Verduidelik dat party voorwerpe gemaak word met die doel voor oë dat dit 'n stelling maak teen 'n sekere ideologie. Die Rape Crisis t-hemp is 'n voorbeeld hiervan. Gesels oor verkragting, vroue mishandeling, en seksuele mishandeling. Gebruik studente se bydrae deurentyd. (5min).
- 4) Onderwyser: Verduidelik dat die museum, soos die t-hemp en die oorring, en die tandeborsel, nie in 'n vakuum opgerig is nie. Maar as sekere aksies, en woorde gebruik kan word om te bewys dat die karakterisering van 'n vrou as "sag en breekbaar" nie die enigste is nie, kan die ideologie van die museum ook afgebreek word. (5min).
- 5) Evaluasie (5min).

Hoe om Werkswinkel 4 te gebruik

Wat dit behels: Werkswinkel 4 fokus op die idee dat 'n voorwerp of woorde wat 'n bepaalde idee of ideologie voorstel, gebruik kan word om die ideologie te kritiseer. Dit word gedoen deur die verhouding tussen voorwerpe en woorde van nader te beskou.

Onthou: 1) Voorwerpe: 'n t-hemp; 'n ooring; tandeborsel; Rape Crisis blaai.
2) Let op na die tydindeling.

Hersiening van werkswinkel 3:

- 1) Vra die studente wat die doel van die werkswinkel was.
- 2) Vra die studente of daar 'n verhouding is tussen werkswinkel 1 en 2 wat gekonsentreer het op taal, en werkswinkel 3 wat gekonsentreer het op voorwerpe.

Indeling van Werkswinkel:

Doen kledingstuk speletjies soos beskryf op bladsy veertien.
Die speletjie word gedoen vir ontspanning alleenlik.

- 1) Die identifikasie word gedoen op dieselfde basis as dié van werkswinkel 3. Vra 'n student om die name van die voorwerpe op die bord neer te skryf, en naas dit aan wie dit behoort, man of vrou. Die studente sal party voorwerpe aan beide man en vrou koppel.

Die voorwerpe wat vir identifikasie gebruik word, kan nie maklik aan of "man" of "vrou" gekoppel word, soos gebeur het in werkswinkel 3 nie. As dit dan vergelyk word met die voorwerpe wat in die vorige werkswinkel gebruik is, sal dit die idee oordra dat sekere voorwerpe nie inherent aan of 'n "man" of 'n "vrou" behoort nie.

- 2) Vra die studente nou wie die t-hemp sal dra as die woorde "Women against violence against women" daarop staan. Vra die studente ook hoekom hul 'n sekere antwoord gee.

Met die woorde op die t-hemp sal dit verander van 'n meer neutrale voorwerp na een met 'n ideologiese stelling. Let op na idees soos die volgende: dat net vroue die t-hemp kan dra want dit spreek spesifiek tot vroue; of dat mans dit ook kan dra want hulle kan simpatiek wees met die onderdrukking van vroue.

- 3) Sê aan die studente dat party voorwerpe gebruik word om teen 'n ideologie te spreek, soos met die Rape Crisis "t-hemp". Die slagsprek "Women against violence against women" spreek teen geweld teen vroue, maar ook die idee dat vroue die swakker geslag is, en dus verkrag en geslaan kan word. Vra die studente of daar enige ander voorwerp is wat teen 'n sekere idee of ideologie kan spreek.

Evaluasie van Pakket.

1. Wat dink u van die uitleg van die Pakket?

a. Is dit maklik hanteerbaar?

.....

b. Is dit maklik verstaanbaar?

.....

2. Dink u die vier werkswinkels volg logies op mekaar?

.....

3. Dink u die informasie gegee in die vier werkswinkels is gepas,

a. vir sêkondere vlak leerlinge?

.....

b. by die syllabus?

.....

4. Dink u die informasie is oorgedra op so 'n manier dat dit maklik verstaanbaar is?

.....

5. Vind u dat die uiteensetting van die pakket die gebruik daarvan vergemaklik?

.....

6. Dink u die dele genaamd "Hoe om werkswinkel (1 tot 4) te gebruik ",

a. Verduidelik voldoende hoe om die werkswinkels te gebruik?

.....

b. Bevat te veel informasie?

.....

c. Is maklik/nie maklik om te verstaan?

.....

7. Vind u die deel genoem "Werkswinkels by Onderwyskollege Athlone en evaluasie deur studente" was vir u van nut?

.....

8. Dink u die bibliografie is voldoende?

.....

9. Is daar enigiets wat u wil byvoeg?

.....

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11.
12.
13.
14.
15.

Moeder

Vader

Moedertaal

Vaderland

Women against
violence against
women.

Ons is weerloos en totaal en al ontoegerus vir die lewe. Jeanne Goosen se roman *Ons is nie almal so nie* is verlede naweek met die M-Net-prys bekroon, twee weke nadat sy *Rapport se Boeke van die Jaar*-prys vir Prosa gewen het. Vir haar is die R50 000 van die M-Net-prys "afskuwelik wonderlik", maar dit maak haar ook "morbied", sê sy. PEARLIE JOUBERT, met 'n bandopnemer, kamera en 'n sixpack Amstels, het by haar gaan kuier

Waar kom *Ons is nie almal so nie* vandaan?

Ek moes gaan vir 'n masjinerie. Ek het die ergste verwag en toe het die gesondheidsdokter nou met my gepraat... Aag later klinkend met die hoofletter L, het nog nooit veel vir my beteken nie. En toe skryf ek. Onbevange. *Ons is nie almal so nie* is ook blyde dokumente. Die 'n' ryd was my sangeryn, want ek kom ook uit die werksidde. Ek was baie klein, maar die invloed van Ben Schoeman was ongedoelike omdat hy ook 'n werker was. Hy was 'n skoler en... in blante Marisa man!

Wie is die mens?

Ek wou nog altyd oor hulle skryf. Maar voor 2 Februarie verlede jaar sou hulle nooit aanvaarbaar gewees het vir die letterkunde met die hoofletter L nie. Die letterkunde was eintlik maar 'n bevordering van Afrikaner-nasionalisme. As mens terug-gaan in die Afrikaanse letterkunde dan gaan dit maar oor droogte en God - hoe wonderlik dit was jou gaan, hoe 'n groter Christus word jy - maar oor die steldinge wat in groot mate ongetuierd en onangeneem was, is nooit geskryf nie. Die ou letterkunde was maar nog altyd oor hoe meer God jou lesseer, hoe suiverder kom jy anderkant uit. Hoe kom dink jy het jy die prys ontvang? Die boek vloek, die mens is onmens.

Maar ons is dan almal so. Die ons agtergrond - ons is Afrikaners. Whatever that may be. Die ding speel hom af in '52 en ek het daardie mense geken. Ek kom van Parow af en ons het so Afrikaans gepraat. En toe kom die ATKV en standaardiseer die Afrikaans. Maar voor dit was die swart en bruin invloed in Afrikaans baie sterk. Nou is ons in die tyd van boetedoening, om te erken dat ons verlede eintlik baie eenvoudig was, dat ons werker-geestesleer was. 2 Februarie het dit maklik gemaak om dit te erken.

Hee het jy gevoel toe jy haar jy het gesien? Ek was oorblyf, maar ook morbid. Ek weet ek sal nie so 'n boek kan herhaal nie. As ek sê, sou dit 'n kommensale daad wees. As daer met die boek 'n rigting aangedui is, sou ek dit nie kan volg nie. Die onbevange van die boek, dink ek, was maar 'n soort geskiedkundige bevinding van almal wat kon onthou. Hoewel die boek voor 2 Februarie ingehandig is, was die politieke verslapping baie belangrik. Ek weet nie, maar ek vermoed dat die uitgewers baie gewoone het daardie, want die laaste twee, drie jaar is al hierdie kommissies aangeval om die woorde "kaffer", "hotnot", "koelie" uit die ou letterkunde te haal. En hier kom 'n hedendaagse skrywer en bring dit alles terug. Daar was 'n lank koloniale druk van die Engelse se kant af en die Afrikaners wou bevryding gehad het. En hulle bevryding het daarin geleë dat hulle ander mense ook kon onderdruk.

Wie is jou gunsteling-karakter?

Ek is lief vir die vroue omdat hulle so lief was vir sonde. Woorde politieke en ekonomiese druk het die vroue die eerste keer uitgespring en begin werk. En hulle het kontak gemaak met die wêreld daar buite. Dit was natuurlik ook die tyd van die motor en groot sonde - *May West* met die *Way of all Flesh*, *She Done Him Wrong* en *Gone With The Wind*. Daar was 'n geweldige opkoms in die stories en die vroue hier het kontak daarmee gemaak en 'n ander wêreld het vir hulle oopgegaan. Hulle kon nie feminisme wees teenoor hul mense nie, maar in hul sonde... Hulle het dit uitgeleef deur onder mekaar, die vroue, danks te hê en agterste. Om plese te speel van musiek. En die vroue het weggestom van die ou, stam, argiese en Calvinistiese opvoeding. Dit was die eerste vroue-opstand.

Het jy geskryf om iets te bewees?

Nee. Dit was nie so iets nie. Ek het, toe ek uit die hospitaal kom, hedendaagse Amerikaanse skrywers se goed gelees en dit was wonderlik. Hulle het so onbevange hul jeugherinneringe geskryf. En ons het nie daai bevryding in die letterkunde om net te skryf wat ons ervaar, oor wat ons onthou nie.

Jy moet onthou, ek het die boek geskryf ses maande nadat 'n klomp van ons genote is deur die ANC. Die impetussie opdrag was: Skryf eenvoudiger. Hier is 'n kulturele opkoms. Nie-impetussie en tussen die twee is die opdrag maar om te skryf oor die swartman se kulturele opkoms. Ek het daardie idees baie ernstig vertolk en doen dit nou nog, maar ek kon dit nie doen nie. Dit sou valse wees. Ek kon net skryf oor ons eie. Oor die wit opkoms ná '48, want ek moes sien waar die altes begin het. Die bevryding het vir my gekom toe ek sien hoe verskillende vry die res van die wêreld kan skryf. Toe ek

begin skryf oor my jeugherinneringe, oor onse Tank en daai goet, en die mense was ek al 'n voorontkoolde kind geken het en ek kom op bladsy 18 en onse Tank kom uit die oorlog met sy mark voet en hy sing al daai goed was hy in Italië geleer het en toe sê hy: Jy kan nie met mense so maak nie al is hulle kaffers. Toe begin die boek ernstig maak... en ek wonder: Hoe is dit moontlik in Suid-Afrika, en spesifiek in Afrikaans, dat ons so 'n wit letterkunde het? Hoe kan mens skryf sonder om buites en swartes in te weef in die wêreld? En dit was op sigself 'n statement. Daar is soveel mense, soveel stories in die land, ons het so 'n lang geskiedenis van skryf en alles gaan oor witmense.

Dit is een ding van skryf. Daar is skole in 'n geheue wat beheer oorneem... Daar is dinge wat jy onthou was jy nie gedink het jy onthou nie en jy kom agter dat dit baie seer dinge is wat uit jou eie kinderjare kom. Wat onthou jy self daarvan? Ek onthou die Willams, ons bure, ek onthou die kind deur die draad, dat hulle mos trek. Ek was te klein om te onthou hoekom. Hulle was wat ons daardie genoem het die grand hoouts - met ander woorde die eintlike gevaarlike. Maar as kind het jy nie gewet nie.

Hoe het dit gebeur dat jy begin verstaan het hoekom hulle weg is?

Dit was my me se jammerhartigheid. Vir haar kon politiek en apartheid nie werk nie omdat sy in 'n charvintiese huis grootgeword het. Sy het in 'n tyd geleef waar die man heers en die politiek was natuurlik, en is vandag nog, geweldig manlik. Maar my me se jammerhartigheid. Ons was nie almal so nie. Dit is net so.

Onse Tank is 'n romanlees voorproef.

Maar hy was nieci! Hy het vir my lekers gekoop en gesê jy kan nie met mense so maak nie - al is hulle kaffers. Ek het dit nie verstaan nie, maar toe in die kom van dié ons het ek begryp. Hy was goed, hy was 'n uitgewer en kon nie werk kry nie. Sy mensheid, sy warmhartigheid spreek tog toe enige kind van vier, vyf jaar oud.

Het jou me jou boek gelees?

Ja, sy woon in die Panorama spoorweg-ouetehuis. Sy het vir my gesê jy kon goed onthou Jeanne, maar was dit nou nodig om so baie by te lê. Sy het gesê sy het nooit by die man met die gous tand geslaap nie. Wat was is. Dit was fiksie, maar fiksie is tog die waarheid saam met die leuen.

En ja Plat?

Piet is waar. Dit is die man wat wou vooruit en Ben Schoeman het hulle die geleentheid gegee. Hy was die groot heid, die verlosser. Hy het hulle begeester en daai tyd was die tyd van die swart gevaar, die Romee gevaar, die rooi gevaar. Stalin het nog geleef. Jan Smuts het nog geleef en dit alles het vermenigvuldig die onchterselikeit bekeken - alles was indruis teen Calvinisme. En dié Afrikaner, ook 'n onderdruis deur die Britse, wou vooruit. Die hele boek is egter baie nie in vingervuier nie. Ek probeer nie sê wie se skuld dit is nie, dit is baie moeilik om nie 'n voorontkooling van die Afrikaner nie.

Hoe het jy jou Parys geken?

Ek het gaan swot op UCT. Dit was soos die onderdruis vinding wat nie ongeset om vloere te sloop en in winkels te werk en die lok van die wies te vet nie - skrik hulle kinders iets bereik. Dit was ook die Afrikaners van daai tyd se houding omdat hulle kinders eendag moet heers en iets moet word in die lewe - sodat ons niemand meer as volk in die oë hoef te kyk nie.

Hoe kom UCT?

Dit is al waar ek 'n beus kon kry. Ek het baie goeters gewot. Hulle het jou betaal om te swot en toe swot ek radiografie. Voor dit het ek musiek by die Rondebosch College of Music gewot en klarsgemaak. Ek weet nie wat dit was nie. God, maar ek wou nooit 'n music teacher word nie.

Radiografie?

Ek was nog altyd baie lief vir die wetenskappe. As ek my lewe kon oortel, sou ek graag 'n bio-chemikus wou wees... of 'n inselidende. Dit gryp my aan. Die gedagtesporene was mens by inselidende - dit was soos by die mens. Hulle het totale politieke aksie, is dikwels en dit werk is die uiteinde-idee nie meer om soos 'n komsies te word nie. Blind, doof en totaal ongehoor.

Wat doen jy toe?

Ek's toe pleistand toe, Groblendal toe, as radiograaf. As mens eenmaal 'n plaas kan neem, dan moet jy nou ook maar 'n

plaas neem. Ek het onvrent nooit gewerk nie. Al was mens kry, is wanneer 'n rugbyspeler sy pinkie breek. Toe dink ek, nee god, hier kan ek darym nou ook nie bly nie en toe gaan ek Pretoria toe en werk vir die army.

En ná Pretoria?

Ek is terug Kaap toe en het die trick baie gou gemaster. Ek't my verbeel ek kan nou skryf. Ek het bitavinnig 'n kortverhaal vir die Huisgenoot en Sarie geskryf en gesien ek kan daarop loof. Die toe is 'n goedkoop plek en ek het gaan moede uithaal en vlegervang en geskryf. Toe die eerste boek uitkom, het ek besluit om weer te move. Ek hoor toe van 'n ou by Hartebeeshoek wat 'n plot wil verhuur waarop 2 000 situasies is. Ek kry toe die plek en boer. Ek was 'n moese sukses en ontmoet toe 'n Griek aan wie ek my suidmoene, nartjes en lermoene voorsien het. Ek het geskrik met die goed omdat ek nie gegenganger was nie. Later het ek gaan regstoor, maar het gemaak tydens die Britse dokusking toe ek vir my hele blante ons 66 sent gekry het. Toe weet ek. Eentheid is nie vir my nie.

Wat was die wonderlike storie wat jy ook geskryf?

Oo, Jim, so 'n vrou wat 'n sirkus gekoop het vir 'n deponit van R70. Dit was ongelooflik. Sy, haar naam was Erica Bosh, het hierdie sirkus gekoop en sy was pikswart in haar gesig, want sy het gesê hulle het haar daai pule in die malhus gegee wat haar gesig swart gemaak het. Haar hf was wit. Ek vermoed sy het 'n velsiekte gehad. Dit was 'n klassieke storie. Sy wou 'n ballet dancer word, maar toe kry sy polio. Toe word sy maar 'n bespeklant, maar, in haar eie woorde, sy wou iets doen vir die vermaaklikheid.

Sy het goed gedoen met die beste en toe loop sy die sirkus. Twee wraens en 'n paar papegaie en sy trek Hendrina toe.

Daar het sy haar eie sirkus gehad met haar man wat die swarte gesien het, haar twee kinders en ouma. Haar hele lewe was soos *Waiting for Godot*. Dit het my sangeryn, want sy was 'n uitgewer en kon nie werk kry nie. Sy mensheid, sy warmhartigheid spreek tog toe enige kind van vier, vyf jaar oud. Dit was my me se jammerhartigheid. Ons was nie almal so nie. Dit is net so.

Wat gaan jy nou skryf?

Oo! Ek weet nie, maar ek voel geweldig aangetrokke tot die deladensie, veronting. Dit is vir my baie positief, maar ek weet nie hoe lank dit gaan hou nie. Dit is nie die jong ding nie. Deladensie is 'n shortcut to the reality. Dit is vernietigend. Want almal lêg, dit is alles leuens en deladensie, vir my, my die leuens lêg. Ek voel aangekroete dante omdat dit histories is. Ons is mos nou in die historiese era. Die vroue, die feministe is histories. Almal is omdat dit daarop gerig is om die plase uit te ruk van manlike belegging. Mens kan mos nie meer oudoes skryf soos Karel Schoeman nie - alles is dan histories. Mensie wil nie meer ernstig sa en praai nie, ons wil dinge bestorm en dit verander en dit is histories en dekadent.

Wat wil jy van die lewe hê? Wil jy nie 'n man, 'n Sanden-huis, kinders en heel karre hê nie.

Nee jime, wie wil dit nou hê? Ek kan nou baie beslis sê wat ek nie wil hê nie, maar ek weet nie wat ek wil hê nie. Ek hou van gevaar en om gevaarlik te lewe. Ons is mos maar soos diere. Ek dink mense is ongeklik omdat hulle soveel skanse bou. Ek kyk na daai geitjes wat in die winter so in die son lê, so sonder panty, roos en onderrok, kaal. Ons is weerloos en totaal en al ontoegerus vir die lewe. Ek dink die een ding wat ek wil hê, is skoonheid. Ek wil nie tragies oud word soos Edith Piaf nie. Ek sou graag 'n moo wees omdat dit aanvaarbaarheid en vryheid beteken. Ek soek warm, slim mense, ek soek mense wat daai ding het. Skoonheid is een van die simple things in life. Ek sou graag my hande wou hou oor 'n houtuur en net doodgewoon 'n mens wees en dan begin klip.

MB

"My God, Doris!" sê my antie weer.

"Ja. Jy sien, ná die show is ek Ladies toe om my hare te kam, om my neus te poeier en so aan, jy weet. Maar toe ek uitkom om huis toe te gaan, is al die mense al weg en die deure gesluit. Jirre, ek het by daardie deure gestaan, geruk en gepluk en geroep, maar alles verniet. Nie 'n siel in sig nie, man.

"Mietjie, weet jy wat se hel gaan 'n mens deur in 'n leë, dooie bioscope? Kan jy jou indink? Nee, jy kan nie, maar vra my. Ek sal jou sê. Dis erger as die hel self."

Ant Mietjie skink die tee.

"Wat kon ek doen? Ek gaan toe en gaan sit daar in een van die agterste seats. Om te dink. Tóé is ek eers vir jou bang. En jy weet, hulle het nog 'n Frankenstein gewys ook. My hare het regop gestaan. Dit het vir my al gevoel of iets wat ek nie kan sien nie my bekruip. 'n Ding, en ek kon hom hoor asemhaal. Ek lieg nie vir jou nie. En bo in die operator se hokkie het ek iemand hoor stap. Stadig, soos 'n moordenaar. Ek weet nie hoe lank ek daar gesit het nie. Al wat ek vir jou kan sê, is dat ek gebid het soos ek nog nooit in my lewe gebid het nie. Tot die Here belowe ek sal die bioscope opgee. En die Cavallas."

"Kry 'n bietjie tee, Doris," sê ant Mietjie en sy stoot die koppie na my ma toe. "Drink. Dit sal jou goed doen."

"Soos ek sê, ek weet nie hoe lank ek daar gesit het nie, maar ewe skielik toe strike iets my. Die phone! As 'n mens so bang is, dink jy nie aan

sulke dinge nie. Man, ek is daar uit en, prys den Heer, die manager het nie sy kantoor gesluit nie.

“Ek het die boek met die nommers gekry, maar ek het lank gesukkel om die poelies se nommer te kry soos ek gebewe het. Dié kry ek darem toe ook naderhand en ek phone. Hulle sê toe hulle sal ou Byrd soek om die deur vir my te kom oopsluit.

“En daar wag ek toe vir ou Byrd voor by die deur en dit voel ook vir my soos ure, man, dat ek daar staan en wag. Ek het al die posters in die foyer gelees en bekyk en as ek my oë toemaak, sien ek nou nog vir Rita Hayworth in haar bubble bath.

“Toe kom Byrd uiteindelik daar aan met die bos sleutels en waar skel die man my uit! Hy klim my daar van ’n kant af in en wat kan ék doen, ek is mos verleë? Man, en ek húi-i-i-il!

“Ek is toe stasie toe, maar die laaste trein is toe natuurlik al weg. Vrou-alleen stap ek daar en, Mietjie, jy moes net gesien het watter kyke die sailors my gee. Suffel te sê.”

“Jy moet doodmoeg wees, Doris,” sê ant Mietjie. “Shame.”

“Maar om ’n lang storie kort te maak, ek kry toe daar onder op die punt van die platform ’n man met ’n uniform en ek vertel hom my storie.

“Nee, sê hy vir my met so ’n stemmetjie, jy weet, hy weet nou nie, maar die laaste trein is al weg . . .

“Dit weet ek, Meneer,” sê ek vir hom en ewe

skielik, net daar, strip my moer. Ek gryp hom hier voor aan sy collar en ek sê vir hom: 'Kyk, Meneer, ek het 'n siek man by die huis en 'n kind. Ek gee nie 'n hel om wat jy doen nie, maar jy moet 'n plan maak. By die huis kom, dié moet ek vannag.'"

"So 'n pes!" roep ant Mietjie uit.

"Dít het die drol laat wakker skrik. 'Nou ja,' sê hy, 'nou ja, dame, daar is die goods-train wat ry, maar dié trek eers oor tien minute.'

"'Ek vát daardie trein,' sê ek. Nee, sê hy, maar hy sal sien wat hy kan doen. Hy sal met die drywer praat dat dié stilhou by Elsies en dan kan ek daar af.

"Daar sit ek toe in die goods-train in die guards' van saam met twee guards en ek sal jou liever nie sê hoe hulle my op en af bekyk het nie. Jy kan self dink, 'n vrou dié tyd van die nag, nêe, oggend."

My ma begin weer huil.

"Ag, shame, Doris," sê ant Mietjie. "Jy is darem nou hier en dis al wat tel. Drink nou jou teetjies, môre skyn die son weer."

"En dan praat Piet ook nog so met my. Oor my is hy nie worried nie. O nee! Ek sal seker gestraf word, maar partykeer háát ek hom. Hy weet nie wat dit my alles kos nie. Ek moet na hom, siek in die bed, kyk, die huis aan die kant maak, was en stryk, ek moet sien dat Gertie ordentlik groot kom en dan kom hy nog met daardie houding. Die vader weet, ek hét so min van die lewe, as dit nie vir die bioscope was nie."

APPENDIX 3

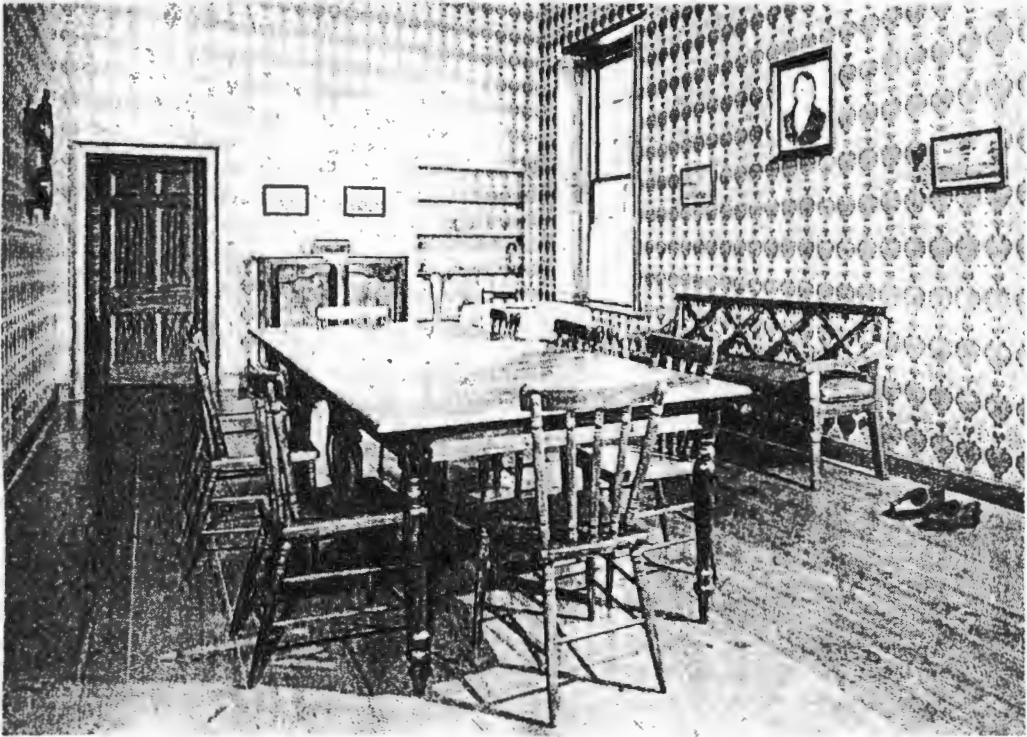


fig 1



fig 2



fig 3

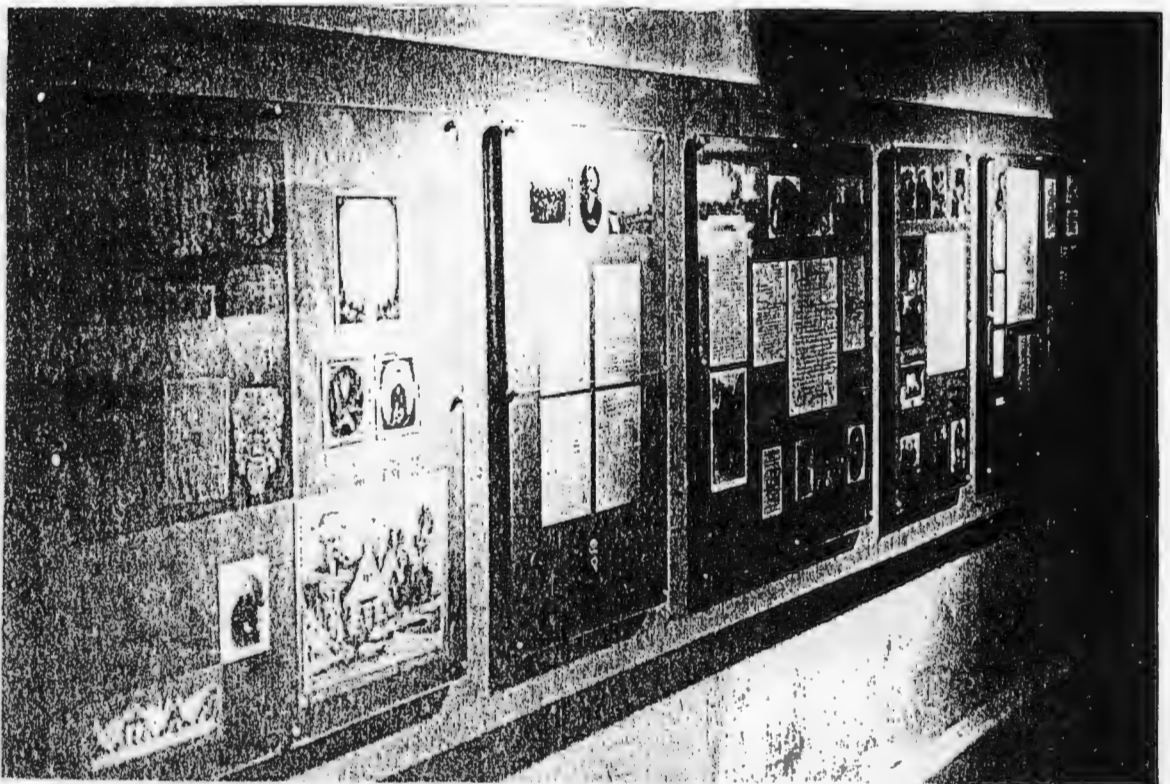


fig 4



fig 5

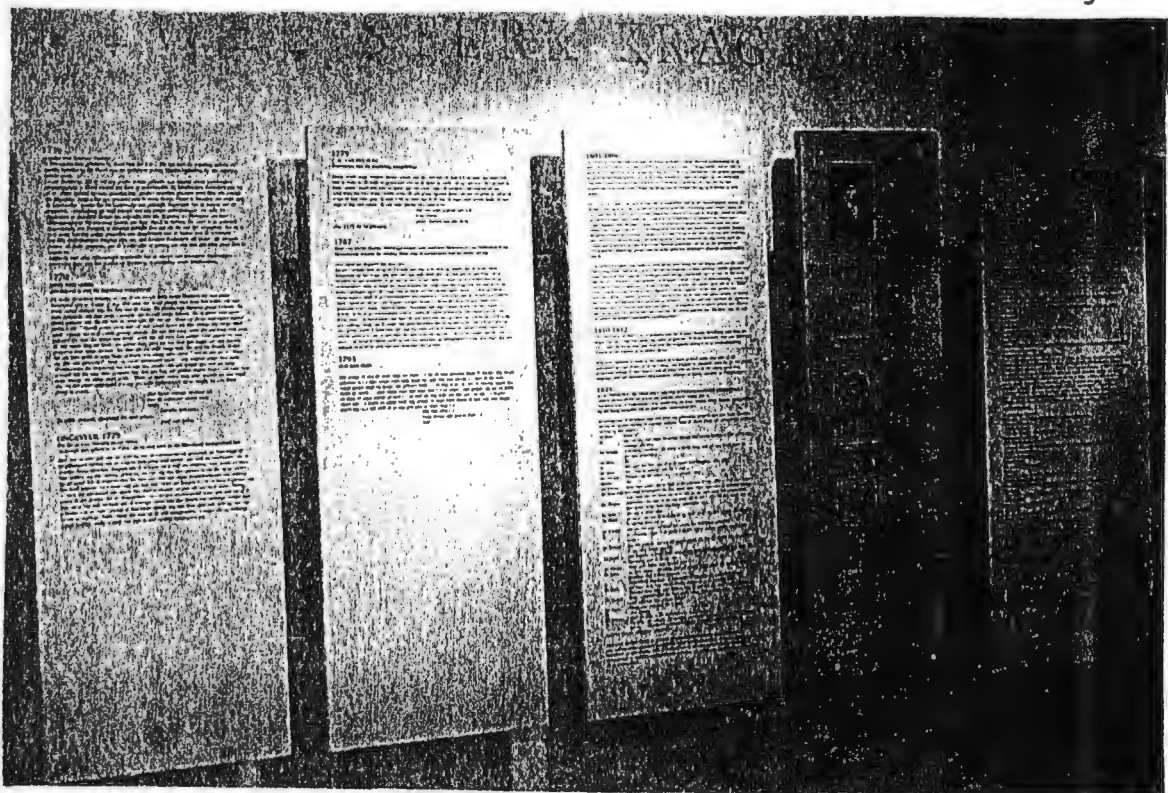


fig 6

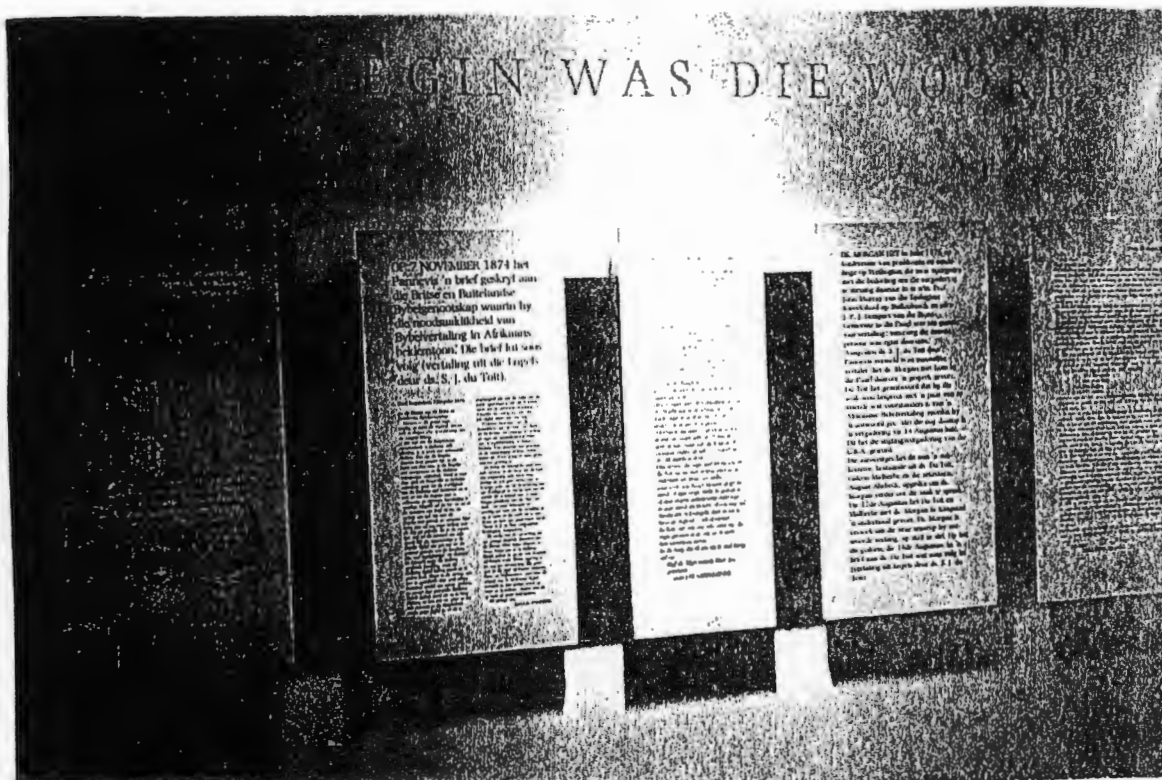
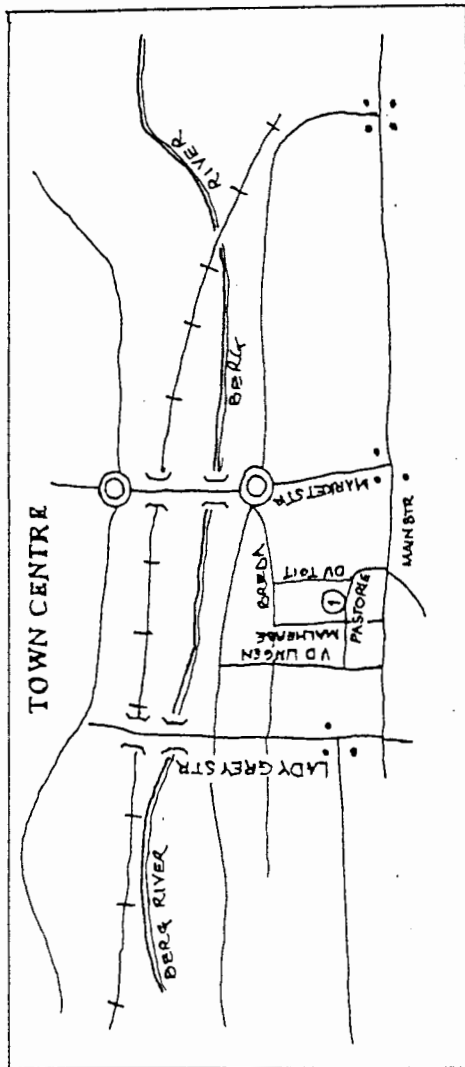
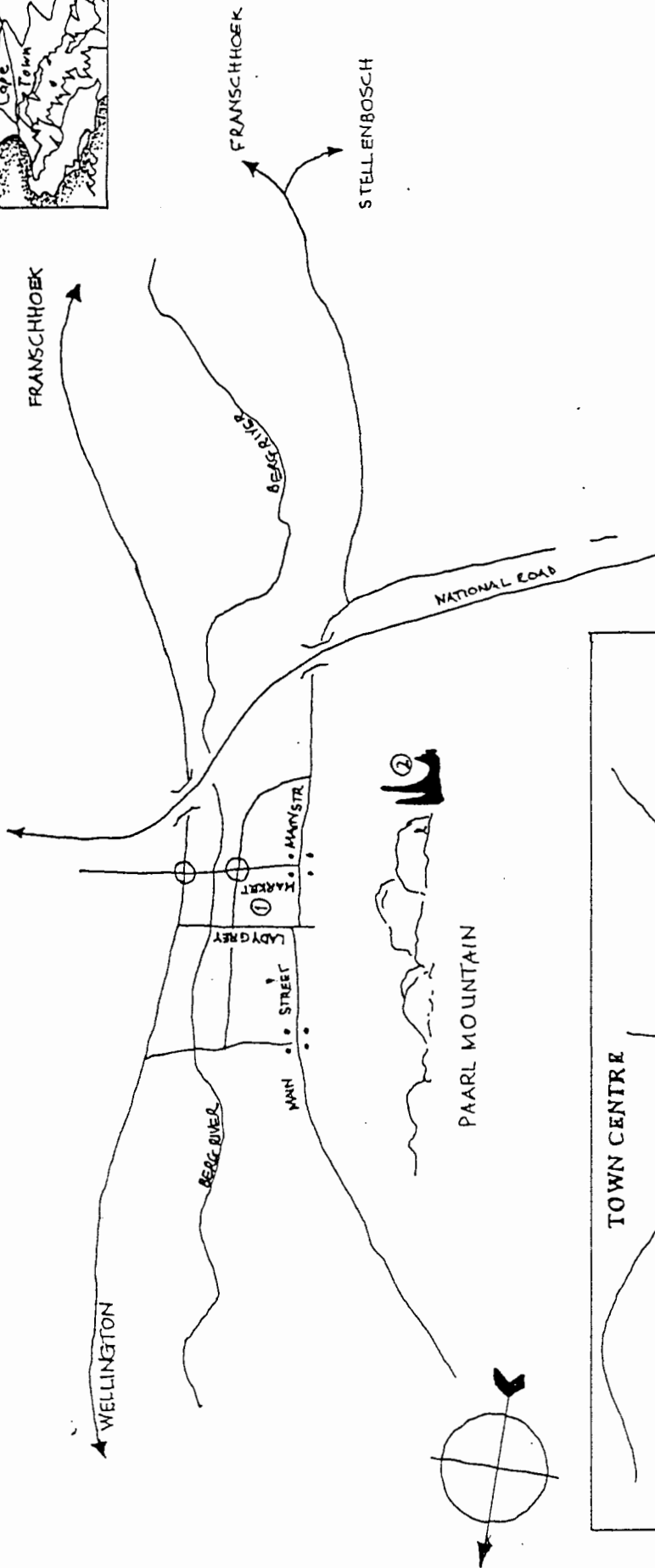
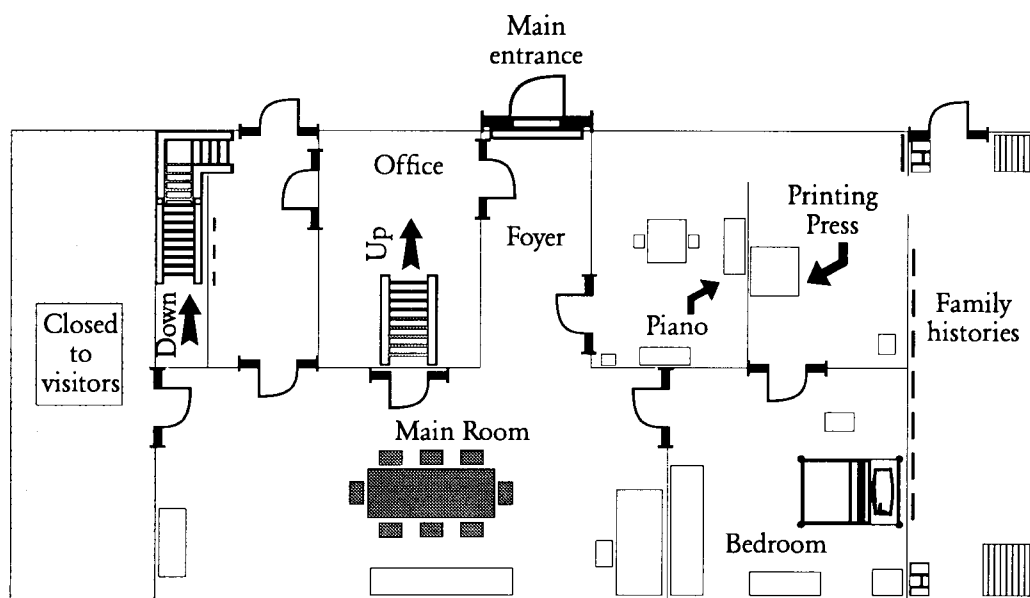


fig 9

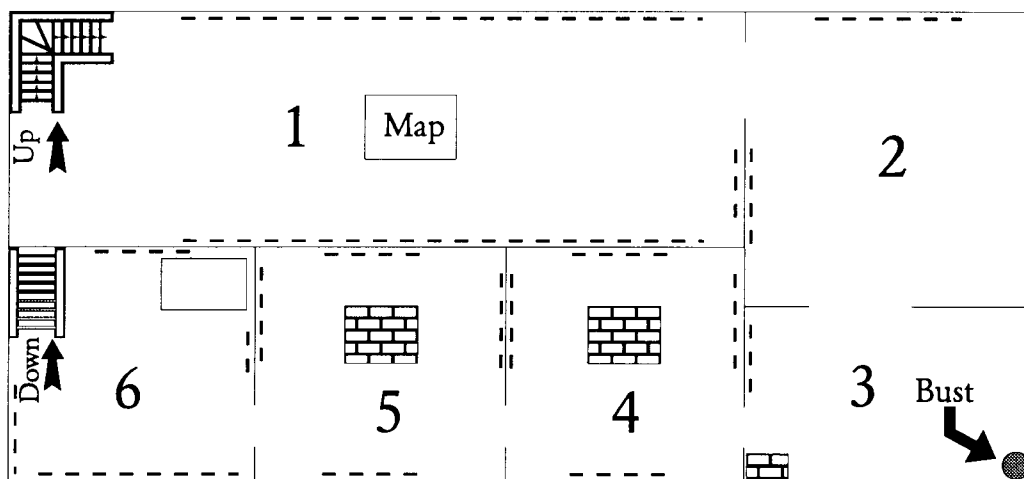
APPENDIX 2



- ① Afrikaans Language Museum
- ② Afrikaans Language Monument



Ground Floor of the Afrikaans Language Museum, 1990



Top Floor of the Afrikaans Language Museum, 1990

KEY TO DISPLAYS



Artefacts on pedestal



Artefacts in glass cases



Wall-mounted displays

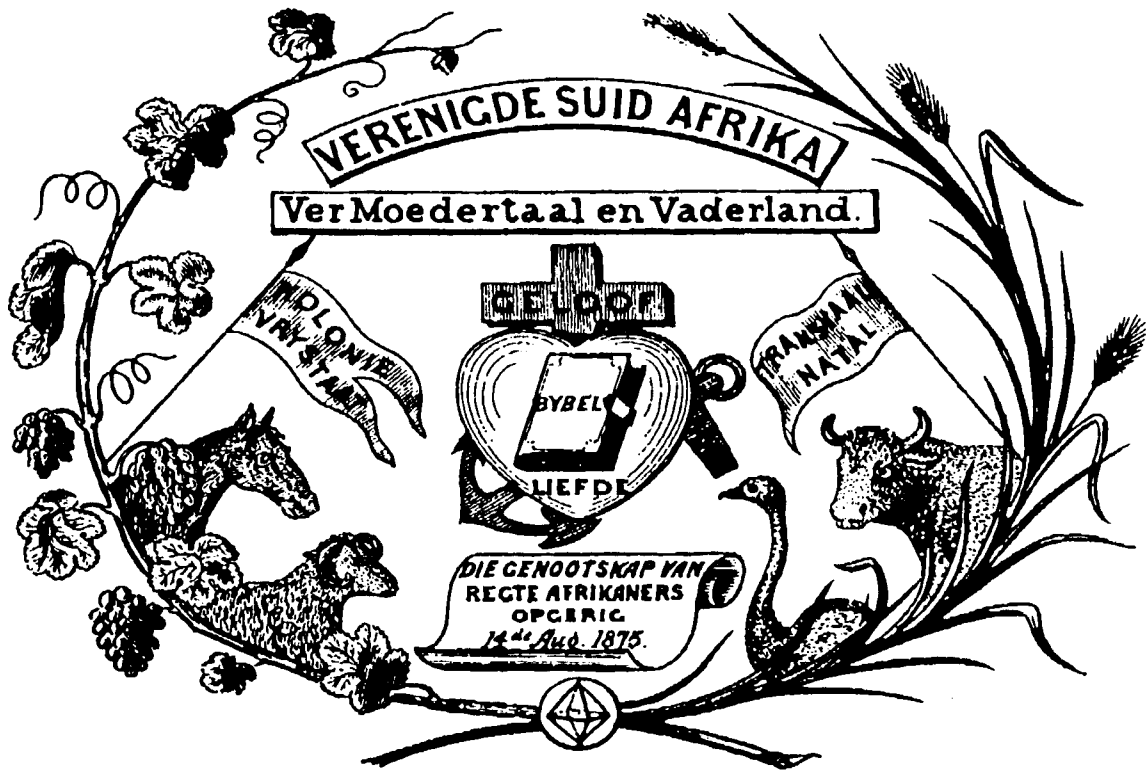
Note:
Drawings not to scale.

THEMES OF ROOMS

- 1 – Die vrugbare aarde
- 2 – Twee sterk kragte bots
- 3 – 'n Saaier het uitgegaan
– 'n Saad ontkiem
- 4 – 'n Organisasie word gestig
- 5 – Vir ons Moedertaal en Vaderland
– Jy sal 'n Nakroos sien
- 6 – In die begin was die woord
– Die Tweede Taalbeweging

Fig.2.The Layout of the Afrikaans Language Museum, 1990

APPENDIX 4



APPENDIX 5

At the top is written UNITED SOUTH AFRICA. Yes, that is how far it has to go : a free nation with its own language. That is the reason why our true motto follows shortly after : FOR MOTHERTONGUE AND FATHERLAND, only by being united can we ever achieve a United South Africa. On the flags are written the names COLONY, FREESTATE, TRANSVAAL, NATAL. They retain their names and remain separate States, while they still form one Federation of States. In the middle is a HEART; this matter comes from our heart. But this is not simple blind love; no, in the heart lies the BIBLE; it guides the heart. Then there are the CROSS and the ANCHOR. And as is written there, the three together represent Faith, Hope and Love : Our faith that this is a cause from God, our hope therefore that He will give us His blessing and we are moved to it through a true love of our Fatherland.

At the bottom is written the Title and the date of the FELLOWSHIP on the role of parchment: - At the bottom, for we want to praise not ourselves, but our Land and our Volk ; on the parchment, because it is durable, and the Fellowship with it.

Around is the harvest of our land. The VINE on the one side represents the Winefarming; the CORN-STALK on the other side the Maize-farming; the BULL and the SHEEP and the HORSE the Stock-farming; the OSTRICH the Ostrich-farming; and on the ground a DIAMOND to show that Africa is rich in precious gems and metals. Remember this as long as you see the badge.

APPENDIX 6

My name is Kaatjie Kekkelbek

I come from Katrivier,

Daar is van water geen' gebrek,

But scarce of wine and beer,

Myn A B C at Ph'lipes school

I learnt an kleine beetjie,

But left it just as great a fool

As gekke Tante Meitjie,

Spoken, - Regt dat's amper waar wat ouw Moses in de Kaap zegt
van Dr Ph'lipes zyn

school. Hy zegt "Das is alles flausen en homboggery."

Met myn Tol de rol enz.

but ab, ab, and i, n, ine,

I dagt met uncle Plaatjie,

Aint half as good as brandewyn,

And vette karbonatjie,

So off we set, een heele boel,

Stole a fat cow and sack'd it,

Then to an Engels setlaars fool

We had ourselves contracted.

Spoken, - Ja, jong! Jy kan myn g'loo, dat ons het dioe Setlaars
gehad; en hy denk altoos dat het ander volk is wat zyn goed steel;
zoo een jan Bull is een domme moerhond, een kleine kind kan hom
vern...k!

Met myn Tol de rol, enz.

We next took to the Kowie Bush,

found sheep that was not lost, aye,

But a schelm boer het ons gevang,

And brought us voor McCrosty,

Daar was SaartjieZeekoegat, en ik,

En ou Dirk Donderwetter,

Klaas Klauterberg, en Diederick Dick,

All sent to tronk together.

Spoken - Regt! so een Boer is een moer slimme ding! Hy was eers net
so stom als de Setlaars en Christenmens, maar Hot'nots en kaffers

het hom slim gemaakt! Ja, rasnawel, ons het die dag so lekker sit kramnaatjies eet, dat de vet so langs de bek afloop; maar hier kom de boer by ons uit met zyn overgehaalde haan en sleep ons heele spul na de tronk. Maar nou trek hy weg oor Grootrivier, die moervreter zeg dat hy niet meer kan klar kom met de Engelse Gorment!

Met myn Tol de rol, enz.

Drie months we daar got banjan kos

For stealing os and hammel,

For which when I again got los,

I thanked for Capt Campbell,

The Judge came round,-his sentence such

As he thought just an even,

"Six months hard word,"which means in Dutch,

"Zes maanden lekker leven!"

Spoken, - So een Jud, hy verbeel hom dat hy slim en geleerd is, als hy daar zit met zyn witte kop, wat net so lyken als die ding waar de Engels die vloer mee schoon maak, en zyn mantel en bef net als een predikant; -maar ons Hotnots , wil jy g'loo is banjan slimmer, - ons weet wel wanner ouw Kekwis rond kom - dan steel ons die meeste, want ons straf is altoos "Six months hard labour!" maar die kwaai ou met die rooi bakkies, wat hulle zeg Menzie, die is beetjie straf - hy geef ons twee jarren in die bandiet en laat ons klop ons als in ouw Beslaar zyn tyd. De lange speetses van Seur Jan Wyl, daar geef ons niks om! Maar ou Kekwis het hulle afgeset, om laat hy te goed was voor ons, en Muis graaf in zyn plaatsgesteld. Daat is ook een Montakee de Sectaris, die net so goed als Gov'neur in de Kaapstad tegenswoordig. Nieman kan de kerl vern...K. Hy laat al de Hot'nots work op de Hard way which is a very hard way of dealing met de poor Hot'nots.

APPENDIX 7

Interview 1 with Mr C.

The interview took place on the 17/7/91, in Paarl at the home of Mr C.

When asked whether the museum had any value to him, outside of his teaching profession, he replied that he did not see the necessity of the Afrikaans museum. He felt that the museum is in "Afrikaner besit" (Afrikaner hands), and as such held no place in the eyes of the majority of the country's people. Talking about the Alternative Afrikaans museum, he felt that a museum's value should consist in its ability to represent an aspect of a people's culture, their technology. Yet, today's museums are established to present the culture of the establishment as the reigning/main culture. He goes on to say "Sal mens iets van die geskiedenis van 'n taal gaan soek in 'n museum? Hoe vang jy 'n taal vas in 'n museum? Daar is nie vreeslik baie wat hy kan sê van 'n taal nie" (Will a person go and seek the history of the language in a museum? How do you manage to pin a language down in a museum? There is not that much that a museum can say about a language). Going on to say that Cultural artefact do not say much about a language.

Being asked how he would represent the history of the Afrikaans language, he mentioned including the earliest written scripts, poetry and prose works. No objects would be used, except the printing press, and other production materials, but the written materials would be the most important pieces in the museum. It should be mentioned that Mr C has never been to the museum, and that it was pointed out to him that the museum houses much the same articles as he had proposed. He then went on to feed in to the discussion on an alternative museum, by stating that the non-ruling class has had a tradition of oral history. Consequently, the history of a majority of the people has not been recorded. The difficulty therefore remains to include that kind of history into the museum. Thus, the museum will not reflect the true growth of the language, i.e. that it was formed by the non-white community.

Trying to grapple with the above dilemma, he decided the best way to overcome the problem, would be to talk with the older members of the community. Then to transcribe the information, and include it in the museum. But, the work would then be written down, even though the language was not written down when it was being formed. Accordingly, it would be of no cultural value. would it be seen as tangible evidence, and how do you claim its authenticity?

Once again, he raised the question whether something such as a language museum is really necessary, answering that Afrikaans does not have a very long future, and that it will take in a secondary role in the near future. Which brought to mind the idea that a museum might then be needed to commemorate the fact that Afrikaans did exist.

Turning to the language represented in the museum, he raised the issue that the Afrikaans of the museum is not the language of the people. It is the language of the Afrikaner, and that the language the child uses at home is the language of the people. Kaapse Afrikaans is a language being used daily, but it is not recognised as such, and is not written up, except by Adam Small. As a teacher,

Turning to the language represented in the museum, he raised the issue that the Afrikaans of the museum is not the language of the people. It is the language of the Afrikaner, and that the language the child uses at home is the language of the people. Kaapse Afrikaans is a language being used daily, but it is not recognised as such, and is not written up, except by Adam Small. As a teacher, he is forced to use the language of the Afrikaner. Being asked if he felt that it becomes part of a person's identity, he answered, "seker maar. 'n Mens kan nie meer identifiseer met jou eie nie" (Could be. You no longer identify with your own). You alienate yourself, because it is the language of the whites. He went on to say, "Die museum teenoor die samelewing, is soos die skool teenoor die samelewing." (The museum as opposed to the community, is the same as the school opposed to the community) The language of the schools, is not the language of the community, therefore, maybe the schools are museums as well. The school system is a conservative system, with change being scorned upon. A void exists between the school and the community.

Feminism in schools.

Mr C says he is not a supporter of feminism, but the absence of chauvinism. According to him, the grammar is fairly neutral, except for words such as "sekretaresse, or onderwyseres"¹. What is needed is one word only, one noun. But to include a separate component in the syllabus is not justified. Therefore, areas where woman's character is being unjustly portrayed, should be eradicated. I then included precis work, and comprehension into the discussion.

Mr C, commented that the characterisation of women, is part of the Afrikaans, western society, and that, up until the last 2 decades, this has been the reality of the society. The mirroring of the society, has therefore been realistic. the women's liberation movements, made people aware of discrimination. However, even if this is the case, to include make feminism a separate subject in the curriculum, would be problematic. Written pieces should be included which try to eradicate discrimination, but must be an realistic reflection of the world/society. "Nie valse beelde van wat 'man' is, en wat 'vrou' is nie." (Not false images of 'man and 'woman'). Latching on to the last point, he commented that feminism, as a taught course, could turn to be the flipside of the same coin, or as he called it, "teenoorgestelde seksisme" (reversed sexism). Therefore, more women poets can be included in the syllabus, but it should be on merit. Feminism, or anti-chauvinism, thus has a place in the schools, but only to redress the balance.

End of interview.

¹ These are female forms of secretaries and teachers.

Interview with Mr M.

The interview took place on 20/7/91, at the home of Mr M.

Mr M felt strongly that the starting point should be "Why a language museum?". His personal opinion centred around the idea that a museum, a language museum, should be able to show the diachronic history of the language. Any language, he said, was living, it had variants, thus, a standard of a language, of Afrikaans, should not belong in a language museum, but in a laboratory, where the processes of a language is evident. Thus, the idea of a language museum is absurd.

He said he hoped this particular study would prompt teachers to go to the museum. Mr M himself, had never been to the museum, nor has he sent his students to visit it. Yet, he believes, students and teachers, should go to visit the museum in order to be critical of it. Not only of the museum, but also of the literature, for eg, "Die Alibama van blouhoek" (The Alibama of blue corner), and ask the question, how are the people being portrayed? Mr M said; " Taalmuseum is 'n is 'n is 'n waste of time, is is 'n sinlose praktyk" (Language museum is a is a is a waste of time, it is a senseless practise). He also referred to the language monument as a "Grafsteen" (Gravestone).

He then spoke briefly of the fact that variants of the Afrikaans language do not get acknowledgement. He went on to speak of the idea that language cannot be separate from those who speak it. He made an analogy, saying that you can study geography in school without really knowing how a particular landscape form looks, but you cannot study "Afrikaanskunde", separate, and objective. He said that what needs to be studied, is the structure of the museum: What has been left out. These vacuums should then be addressed and the ideological parameters around the silences be dealt with. He said; "Blankes het die taal geskaap...", (Whites have stolen the language) and this should be shown. The literature of the Afrikaans language, he said, gives us indications of political agendas, for eg the Harare document which talks about the Afrikaans language. thus, he says he hopes this study will empower people to start thinking about the language.

He noted that there would be different perspectives concerning the language museum between white and "coloured" teachers. Which led him to the question whether a museum, in general, is a community service, eg asking the question whether it helps him, and with what, answering that, yes, it helps him understand the Afrikaans language,....but, yet for him, that is not the answer. He also feels that English has the same parallel.

Moving on to the birth of the language, he says; "'n Taal ontstaan spontaan" (A language originates naturally). While, he believes, academics put too much stress on the European side of the language, forgetting about Africa. Africa, he concludes, still has not, as he says, come home.

He goes on to say;" As jy die volk, en veral 'n volk wil seermaak, moet jy aan sy monumente gaan krap. Gaan krap daaraan,

jy sal môre 'n huilende, en 'n sterwende volk sien, dis as jy aan die psige krap van 'n volk" (If you want to hurt the volk, then you should tackle its monument. Then you will have a dying, dispirited volk). He feels that it is possible that museums have the same idea in mind, in any case that the same feeling comes across, the people may enter the museum and are able to see a time that is already lost, As he put it; "...kom maar in en huil oor Langenhoven" (Come on in and cry about Langenhoven). Thus, museums must be demystified. Hopefully the study will empower people sufficiently in order to get them interested in a campaign. He feels that when this study has been completed, teachers and people in general should become active, by visiting the museum, to see what is in the museum, to look at the position of woman.

Feminism and Afrikaans.

He then moved on to look at Afrikaans and feminism. Feminism, he says, is fundamentally about the way people live, the way in which you live out the principles of feminism in day to day life. It should not be implemented only because it is topical. According to him feminism has a place in the schools, in the use of language, and language study, for example, When we speak of a car we usually say, "she drives well.", which perpetuates a male view of life. In the study of literature, there should be started with feminism and children's literature, but it should be subtly done.

Through socialisation, the man gets more food, girls were pink dresses, and the community, the child's parents, they all contribute to the socialisation of the child. The home of the child should then be a protected environment in which the child is able to learn that there should be equality between all people. Thus, he concludes, feminist ideal should begin at home.

Concerning feminism and literature, the novel was started being written for women, because men felt they (the women), were being idle. Today, he says, there is a whole culture wrought up around such magazines such as "She, Kyk, Keur, Vogue¹". There is also an abundance of literature on feminism, yet teachers are not aware of it, thus it will be something totally new to teachers. Feminism, then, he says, should be brought into the school context, through including it in the syllabus, and when students study the novels.

He then went back to talking about the way in which we are socialised to accept that women and men behave in certain different ways, through the media, films. Where the woman is always the weaker person. This, he says, goes hand in hand with the misuse of the female body in advertisements. Leading on to discrimination in the workforce, where women do not get paid leave during pregnancy. While the whole set-up suits men comfortably. If we are to look at our way of life, and if we are to bring about these changes, we will need an infrastructure to suit it.

¹ These are magazines designed for women.

Museums, Mr M maintains, is a synchronic slice of history. People are concerned with the birth of the language, for them, it is Eurocentric, while the contribution by others might not be included. Thus, people should be able to judge for themselves on the birth of the language, and the different parts played. A museum, he says, can be seen as a "glorified archive", where everything is included, which will be able to contribute to the history of the genesis and growth of the language. It should also show the flexibility of the language.

Linking this to the future of the language, he says that it is the speakers of the language, the political use of the language that has made it, in the words of A. P. Brink, Apartaans, the Afrikaans of the apartheid-system. He then went on to give an example of a book he had read, called "Somer" (Summer), and the way in which the people were portrayed. The white farm owners, who danced in a rhythmic, ritualistic manner, and the workers on the farms, whose dance is in contrast a jerky movement. Thus, he says, very subtly, one is able to become aware of the way in which the ideological is being lived in novels. **Empowerment, he says, is thus, not about political empowerment, but about being exploited.** Talking about Advertisements, and the psychological campaign behind the ads, as well as Insurance brokers, he says that people should be taught how to read between the lines, to read critically, or otherwise they get roped in and betrayed.

Language apartheid, he says, is calculated. Just the way Apartheid is a way of life. People humanity gets dismissed. People are stereotyped on t.v., indoctrinated in schools, even in places that name themselves "open" such as the A.T.K.V., and Maties². The legacy of Apartheid, he says, is the language, and that will remain. The academics talk about the language, but one should start with the people. It should also be an ongoing process in order in order that people are to be empowered. One should therefore be able to sustain an argument in order to appropriate language back. This should also include one's own opinion by way of your experience.

Thus, he concludes, a language museum is a reflection of the times, in which different opinions and works are produced, for example, What political state the nation is in. Protest literature, for e.g. is a product of these times. Earlier literature concentrated on the poor white dilemma, later it was the "coloureds", and now it is the protest literature.

Yet, many of the "non-white" literature, is written from a white framework. Black schoolchildren, for e.g. are being forced to learn in Afrikaans, even though it is their 2nd or 3rd language. In 1993, Xhosa will be included in the curriculum as a 3rd language, yet it is these students 1st language. He concludes by saying that a popularist onslaught should be launched, making use of popular literature. Academics make use of words that are not understandable to many of the teachers, and thus, many of the ideas are incomprehensible. **End of Interview**

² The University of Stellenbosch.

Interview with Mr J.

The interview took place on the 21/7/91, at the home of Mr J.

He has never been to the Language museum in Paarl, but has been to the museum in Cape Town. He says that the antiques at the museum attracted his attention. Other than that, it left no lasting memory or imprint on his mind. Neither has he read any literature on museums. As a teacher, he feels that museums are very important for the students, as extramural studies. It is also very important for history and geography, but for the language? He says the Afrikaans language is still growing, so why should a museum be at all necessary? If there should be a museum, it must be one that does not stagnate, but one which grows continually with the language.

He says that the history of the language is not dealt with in the High school syllabus, nor is the language museum dealt with. As pertains literature, matric students are obliged to study one Dutch novel during their year. Yet, the book is read in Afrikaans most of the time, so way, Mr J asks, is the book to be done? I asked him whether the students know why they are given the book as a setwork, and he answered, "Nee, dis net deel van die leerplan"(No, it's just part of the curriculum). No background is given as to the reason why students do a book in a third language for one year only.

He said most students and teachers are against a foreign language any way, so they do not bother to tell students of the background, or the reasons. Yet students do not need to do a Dutch novel after matric. He went on to say that there had been complaints lodged against the Dutch novel. The CTP (the department for "whites") has shifted the book one year down to the std 9 level. Now the DEC (Department of Education and Culture) is also thinking of shifting the book to std 9 level. In 1993 students will still be doing the book in matric, but the year thereafter, it will most probably be moved.

He also said that they will be using the same Afrikaans book, "Die man van Zarene" (The man from Zarene) for the next few years, because the department claims to have no money for new novels. He says this serves to stagnate the Afrikaans literature studies in schools.

I then told him that the museum had a section on the "sestigers", (Afrikaans poets and novelists writing in the sixties) novelists and poets who wrote during the 60's. Yet, I said, they did not have the documents written by Abubakr, seen by some academics, as the earliest Afrikaans works. Mr J tied that into his school experience, and said that the school system is a pure, white movement. There is no time to do any alternative texts to that prescribed by the school system. The students have to do 3 books, 24 poems, of which they will be examined on 2 of these, plus 1 unseen poem. There is also talk that all three poems will be unseen ones in the future.

I then asked him whether he thought there was a need for an

alternative museum? He said the question remained whether Afrikaans was going to survive. If the language has no future, he said the museum in Paarl had a definite purpose, but it would have to be adapted. If the language does not die out, he feels the museum still has a role, for it is necessary to show the contribution of other people to the growth of the language. He said he felt that the language was going to live on in the mouths of the people, even when it is removed from the statutes. It will then remain as a second language.

I then asked him if he felt that Afrikaans got its straight from being a first language. He said that as first language, Afrikaans would still be strong in the country. He said language use, ie Afrikaans or English, is tied to the economic status of a person. I then said that language also has power, such as witnessed in the Soweto schools uprising, when students refused to be taught in Afrikaans. Mr J concluded that those students did not see Afrikaans as either a 2nd or a 1st language. There was the fear that Afrikaans was dying out, and therefore the students were forced to learn in Afrikaans.

Afrikaans and Feminism.

I asked Mr J whether he thought that there is a place for feminism in schools. To this he answered by starting with the role of the woman. He said that in the past, the woman was seen as inferior to men, and therefore the man's role was primary. This he says, is evident in the literature. If we look at novels, the role of the woman has never been that of a central character. André P. Brink, for instance, refers to the woman as central, but he places her in that position due to her sexuality. The sex role of the woman therefore confirms on her this central role. The woman, if we consider feminism, should be playing a central role, for example, women getting an equal salary to that of men. He does maintain, however, that, notwithstanding the above, according to traditions and the past, men have always been the stronger ones.

Turning to feminism and the teaching profession, he said that they dealt with a range of poems, but that he was not clued up to many woman Afrikaans poets. He said that there was space for more women poets/writers to be included in the syllabus. He made the example of the book "Die swerfjare van Poppie Nongena" (The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena) which the department is weary of including, for, they say, the time is not right for the student to study this particular book.

I then asked him whether he felt that a feminist critique should be worked into the syllabus, for instance, an analysis of one of the set books, such as "Periandros van Korinthe" (Periandros of Corinth). He attempted to answer my question, by talking about a book in which the central character was a woman. We discussed whether this character of the woman was not also a stereotype, for she was cast as the "woman who has no compassion for fellow human beings". We then went on to talk about the different roles of the man and woman. He felt that it was because people need to believe in the idea of a strong man, and the idea of a mother.

we then went on to speak about feminism and an alternative syllabus. Mr J felt that one had to look at the community. To look at the role of the woman in the community, so that children may know and get to see the other sides of women, except the mother-figure. The role of women in schools, in the home, in the factories. I asked him whether he felt that this kind of awareness rising comes before or after the new syllabus. He said that it should be before the syllabus.

Before we ended we spoke about the means teachers have of having their voices heard. He said that there have been organised meetings, and that critique of the syllabus and the examinations have been forwarded to the department, but that nothing has come of their efforts. Sadly, these meetings are also dying out.

End of Interview.

Interview with Mr. D.

The interview took place at the home of Mr D on 22/7/91.

Museums

Mr D had been to the Taalmuseum (Language museum) in the late 60's, when he was in std 2 or std 3. He feels however, looking back to that time, that it has no meaning for him, because it is from a white perspective. He says that the non-white person has been negated. As a teacher, the museum should be regarded in its worth. Yet, what he believes as individual, pertains to himself as teacher as well. He will inform his own children where the museum is, but he will not take them inside. This goes equally for the students. He said that the students themselves have also not taken the initiative in incorporating the museum into their own work. Therefore, he says it should mean that the child/student is aware that the museum does not acknowledge the existence of that student.

He went on to say that even though Paarl is seen as the place where Afrikaans had its beginning, yet the community does not show interest in this aspect of the town. He said once again this is to be connected with the political reason of denying representation of black people in the museum.

I asked him whether an alternative taalmuseum and a museum culture should be encouraged. His answer was yes. He felt that education was necessary, which would be incorporated into the school education system, but, he felt that museum practise should be scrutinised. He felt that an alternative museum should not be the flipside of a nationalist museum, and become a non-white museum. He felt that the museum at U.W.C. was a beginning, and should be expanded.

He said that note should be taken of the history of the language, for example the work of Mr Davids (Mr Achmad Davids) of the Bo-Kaap. This history should be incorporated in to the syllabus and the damage be redress by its absence. This should enable the student to go to the alternative museum and it should be able to emphasise what has been taught in the class. The museum would then be tuned in to what the student learns in school. Therefore he says the white museums are in a sense right, because that is what the students are learning in school is from a white perspective. Therefore, the syllabus and the sources should be addressed, and then the museum should be tackled. He says it should be a museum for South Africa, and not for white, black, coloured.

He went on to say that the history of the Afrikaans language will not be examined by the 3 rd year students. No reason as to this movement has been given, nor has that exam slot been filled. When I enquired why there has been no reason, he said that teachers have the right to comment on the examination paper. There have been numerous letters criticising the examination of the history of the language, on account of the 1) the version of the history is an untruth, yet it is reproduced each year. 2)handling of the

history. He says that the sad thing is, the teachers demand the redress of the history, and not its summary exclusion.

We went on to discuss the building of stereotypes through textbooks. He says that even in std 2 children are taught that the "Bushmen" are lazy, and this he says, has a direct link with the violence in the land. The whites, he says, have laid the groundwork for the disappearance of the language, even as they cry about it. He said everything evolves according to apartheid, and therefore the director should sell the museum.

We then went on to talk about the standard Afrikaans and its variants. Mr D felt that the variants are not given any acknowledgement, yet nobody speaks the standard in its absolute. He said he had no problem with the standard if it was broadened to include the variants. Thus, 1) it is either left out completely, or 2) it is broadened. He says the student acquires a dislike of the standard because it is forced down his throat in the Afrikaans classroom situation, even though he might speak a variant just outside the classroom door. Thus, he says, the variants should be included in the museum. He said, even though people on the tv and radio speak the standard, yet the person in the street should be taken into consideration.

Feminism and the Afrikaans language.

Mr D felt that according to our Christen upbringing and our socialisation, the woman is subject to the man. Feminism he says, should have a place in this society, because women are part of the community. The young girl in the class is taught she is subject to the man. As yet, it is not incorporated in the syllabus. He said the textbooks are always the opposite of feminism, because the woman is always the "beautiful woman", and not the men. This he says, highlights certain aspects of the woman, even though feminism strives for equality.

The Afrikaans literature he says, are being written by men, most of the main characters are men, and even where the literature is written by women, are the female characters, seen as subject to their male counterparts. The work of Elisabeth Eybers is mainly about the woman, and there are also numerous books about, by women on the market. In the school environment he also mentions posts for more women, such as heads of departments, not usually associated with women, such as History or Afrikaans. Feminism he says, should be addressed in textbooks of both the language and the literature, as well as the selection of books that is in the hands of the department. He ended by saying that the school is the beginning for the child to become aware and learn of feminism.

End of Interview.

Interview 1 with Ms. C on 17/12/91.

The interview took place at the home of Ms C.

Ms C started by saying that she speaks out of the understanding of the Language monument, where there has been a political context around it, and that that is the reason she has never been to the language-museum. On the other hand, she is an incomer to Wellington and Paarl, and is therefore not really knowledgeable about the above. She said that she had live in De Aar, then Queenstown, then Cradock, then Worcester, then Grabouw, then Kimberley, then Wellington. She said that the longest that she had lived in one place was 6 years, and that she has been living in Wellington for 3 years. She said that she has not yet become one with the place, and that she might have gone to the museum had she been a Paarlite or a Wellingtoner. I then said that other teachers who had been born in Paarl-area had not gone to the museum, and she who has come from outside Paarl, had not visited the museum either. She then said that she had been to the Paarl monument once, but it was because she wanted to see what Paarl looks like, and that it is one of the characteristics of Paarl. She then said that to tell the truth she does not know where the museum is. I then gave her the directions. To which she said that it means that they do not advertise it, and that she will have to try and get to the museum.

We then spoke about the study of literature in the schools. Ms C said that when studying a literature text, what they did in '84 was give a background reading of the for eg the poem, and the poet. These days, she said, the students work from the text solely. For example, the poems by Sheila Cussons, talk about darkness and blackness, and the students do not know that it is because of the gas explosion, that left her maimed. She also said that the std 10's do not have time to deal with the background. She said that what you do is try and finish all the literature and to get the students ready for the end exam. She then said that she is also a believer in the Dutch books, and it remaining in the syllabus. Because she said, this forces you to look back at the history of the Afrikaans language. She said that the current syllabus does not deal with the history. The only place it still has a small place, she said, is when you deal with the spelling of words, and the ground rules for the language. For example, she said, the use of the "ei" and the "y" to commemorate the Dutch heritage, is the only referral to the history.

I then said that I can infer that the students do not get referred to the museum, or do they? Ms C then said that for the last eight years she has never referred her students to the museum. She said that the only thing she has said, is " Listen we only achieved recognition of our language in 1925, from the Dutch." She also said that there has never been a time where a child has brought an article and said, okay, lets talk about this, Pannevis, or whoever. She said that part of the blame lies with the teachers, who must make time for a looking back to the future. On the other hand, she said, there is a "talk as you like" feeling towards Afrikaans. She said that the std 6's, the students who are growing up, believe in the mouths of the

people(volksmond). She said that she believes that they are not interested in the history that gave rise to the language. She said that I who am working in the field, will see that it is not rigid formal state language that is being used. That there is a move towards Cape -Afrikaans, and that with that, the history falls by the wayside. She said that the language is becoming a modern English-Afrikaans. She then said that we are guilty, that you put up one or two posters, and you hope that the student will look at it. Nor is it in the syllabus so that the teachers are forced to do it, so it is not looked at all.

I then asked if she feels that it is necessary that the history be done ,or if it is good that it is left out. She answered by saying that she had been studying the history of the language in her honours year, and therefore she is a proponent of searching for your history. She said that she feels that somewhere, they should be able to accommodate one or two of the lessons, so that the student knows how it all happened. She that in any case there is the whole debate around who started the whole thing, was it the Moslems, the Voortrekkers or who? She said the debate is interesting, and that the student should be able to do research on that, and then decide that he takes that or this particular viewpoint. She again reiterated that she feels a small part of the syllabus should be devoted to the history. She said that as with the subject history, the students are not interested to learn all of it, and that you will kill the language if you force the students to write an examination about it's history. But for interest sake, she said, it should be dealt with, so that the students have that knowledge. She said that then the students will be able to speak with respect about the language because they know where it originated, and they will know when they are busy raping the language. She said that just as she would plead for the Dutch novel to remain, so she would plead that every Afrikaans speaking person/student knows the history of the language.

I then said that I had heard about the GRA in primary school, and never again until this year(1991). Ms C then said that the modern child has more a chance of taking a standpoint, and that it should be interesting to decide that you will accept this or that point of view. I then said that the debate was politically grounded. To which Ms C answered that it is we who use it that way. The reason being that we can fire up the (political) situation. But, she said, when she worked on the history, she did not see it as political. She said that at that stage, it was not necessary, but today it has become a political ball/chesspiece. She said that we speak about the language of the oppressor, and that then it becomes an ugly affair.

I then asked her if there is a necessity for a language-museum, and whether I should explain to her what happens in the museum? She then said that she will have to go back to her earlier comment, and say that if a teacher is not forced by the syllabus to do a certain aspect of the work, then that teacher will in all probability not do it. Thus, yes, she does see the necessity of a language-museum, but then the teacher must be forced to inspire the student to visit the museum. Thus she said, it matters not what is in the current museum, because "museum" means ancient

different people have different interpretations.

I then said that in the end it is the student who is penalised. She agreed and said luckily there is some guidance, and that previously students more or less moved in a vacuum, because you did not know where you were at all. She then said that for the future, there should be greater compatibility, that everyone should use the same textbooks, and the same BLOKBOEKE. In that way a student cannot say that he/she was given the wrong information, and everyone may also have more or less the same information. She said that the teacher must also be aware of the different interpretations. Because you have the intelligent pupil that will say, "but what about this?"

I then asked her about the place of feminism in the school, and said that a lot of the mothers are the one's who bring in the money, but as Ms October herself has said, the poems do not recall this, and the students do not find identification with these poems. Ms October then said that what happens in reality is not reflected in the student's literature. She said that currently they have 60/70% single parent homes, of which the parents are mothers. So it would be much easier for the student to read about the mother who struggles to keep her child in school, and then maybe that student will have more respect for his mother that tries to keep him in school, that has to bring the food in to the house, that has to be mother and father, to get him somewhere. She said that this literature might even exist, it is just not used. She said that it might also jolt the students who are blasé about everything, so that they may realise that they have something to live for. So it can play an important role in the schools.

I then said that it took feminism, and radical feminism to open people's eyes that rape, and battering is happening and people are being hurt. She said that they hit you on the backside when you pass, and whistle when you wear a short, as if it is a sin. That you are too afraid to send your child to the shop. And in most cases, it is not only a physical denigration, but also mental, where men underrate you as woman, and then if you do not subscribe to the norm of being a "woman", then they are able to tell you to shut up in a staff meeting. You are supposed to sit still.....and then you are acceptable.

(Because of the personal nature of the rest of the interview, I have decided to omit it).

End of interview.

I then asked her if she thought Feminism should become part of Afrikaans language education in the future. She asked if I meant as studyfield, to which I answered yes. She said that any book, or novel, or poem, or short story should be of such a calibre that the student is able to identify with it. She said that it is the teachers task to point out any occurrence in the book that he/she does not agree with, or anything that is contrary to good values. In spite of the teacher's value system or believes, the teacher should be able to point out for instance, where the man is battering his wife, that that is wrong. That the woman should not be oppressed by the man. She said that the teachers should have a balanced outlook on life, and should be critical. She said that for the future the syllabus will have a advanced basic level, and the current level for Afrikaans. She said that the prescribed works for each student will now depend on what level the student is being educated. She said that she believes that any teacher should be able to incorporate all approach of analysis, if it is Feminist, Marxist, so that the child is able to form an own perspective, and is able to form an opinion. She said that in this way, a balanced student is formed. She said that the student will be able to make a decision on anything later in life.

I then asked her if there is time for the teacher to integrate these concepts, such as Feminism, Deconstruction, Marxism. She said that she agrees that it is quite a task, and that in the normal way, it already took two periods to do a task, and then the students still need to do the questions. She said that it will most definitely be a time consuming task, but if you do it with the students who are on the advanced basic level, then it should be possible to fit it all in. She said that you should have more time to do more advanced work with the students. She said that on the basic level, you will have no problem that the teacher will be doing the same work in the same way as it is done now, the basic language usage functions that the student learns. She said that it is time consuming, but that it thanks to the laden syllabus the std 10 teacher is piled with. Ms October said that the teacher must do 21 to 23 poems a Dutch book that the students in all probability do not read, a novel, a play, and the short stories, while the time is very limited.

She said that there is a difference between the Std 6, 7, 8, and std 10. She said that the students become critical of the texts around std 8 or 9, and then the syllabus is very full. She said that it will ask a lot of extra work from the teacher, because the teacher will also have to be well versed in the different approaches, but at the end of it all the student has a broader viewpoint. For example, during the year, many teachers make use of what is called the BLOKBOEK which provide an analysis of poems. But in some cases these books give the wrong interpretation of a poem. Because the teachers did not inform the students that the particular interpretation is faulty, the students give the wrong answers in the examination. She said that it happened at the end of the year, where the soldier in one poem wants to eat a young boy to still his hunger, and the students said that this was sexual harassment. She said that the teachers should have provided a greater context of the poem, then maybe the students will not provide such answers, especially since

men, even though that part of the history is half the truth. She said that a project should be set for the future, for what we call "Alternative Afrikaans", that which is said to be happening to Afrikaans at the moment, and that should also be portrayed in the museum. She said that if that does not happen, the language will be a hypothetical language. She said that it is the mother-tongue speakers who will decide what is happening to the language. She said that you find that the students are able to speak, write, and converse about any topic in the Alternative Afrikaans, but if you give that students a book, and you say, now write in correct AB Afrikaans, then the students closes up like a clam. She said that she would not say one must boost the alternative Afrikaans, because it will run it's own course.

Ms October said that there is a space for a language museum. Not only for that has happened, but also for that which is currently happening to the language. She said that writers such as Adam Small, Peter Snyders, en Hein Willemsse, whose work has literary merit, and not for the people they are, should be included in the museum. She said that the museum should be of assistance to the teachers, for instance, when you are searching for original literary works, or music you want to use in the classroom, or articles, you are unable to find anything. Thus the museum can fulfil that function. She said that she supposes that one of the tasks of the museum is preservation. Yet, she said, over the years, the museums have fallen in a rut, and if they do not keep up with new developments, it will become a pink elephant. She said that in order for the museum to be an economic viability, an option such as the above should be part of the museum. I then asked if she meant something like a library for teachers and students. To this she answered yes, something that will work alongside the museum. She said that the child and the greater public will appreciate the museum, especially if it is in close vicinity, or part of a complex. But to have the museum viable while it is a structure on it's own, will be too great a task.

I then said that this connects with what she said before, that the museum has a political function, and when it falls in this rut, it becomes a pink elephant. She said that this is true, and one can look at historical museums, that people do not visit it, because they do not believe in the history that is displayed in that museum. She said that it is the wrong people that are reified, and the wrong people who are commemorated through statues. She said that therefore feminism and the Afrikaans literature are the places where women must fight a space for themselves, but still a balance must be had. She said that feminism has a tendency to go overboard with what is being done, and from this arises a lot of problems. She said that in a class situation, the teacher must make provision for every child. But you must not make provision for being a woman, but for being a person. She said that you do not have to be a woman only a person. She said that as soon as you say you are a woman, you are making claims on right that are contradictory to what you believe. So, to be sure that women have a place in the sun of the Afrikaans language, it should be included in the syllabus in one or other fashion. And when you are introducing a topic to the class you must make provision for the men and women, but still having a balance.

Interview 1 with Ms. O on 16/1/92

The interview took place at the home of Ms O.

Ms O said that a museum is the best place to recall a past, if one is interested in history. Even though, she said museums do not attract many people, if one looks at the visitor numbers. She said that as a teacher, the museum has untold of advantage if you are able to take the students there to see what has happened in the past. It also depends, she said, what is portrayed in the museum, and what the teacher wants the students to be aware of. If it can be part of the educative arena, as a extra-curricula activity. She said that the museum, in the black/coloured teaching situation does not place a major role, because in the past it has been a white institution. She said that the museum has kept the sentimentality as a white institution. She said that she cannot think that a lot of the schools or students would visit the museum in groups, or then it would be very seldom. She said that a language-museum is a very controversial topic, especially where it concerns the Afrikaans Language-museum. She said that where one speaks about a museum that would provide the true historical development of the language, then that museum would be of great value for the Afrikaans language. Because, she said, the teaching profession's regard towards the language and the museum would be more positive.

She said the current Language-museum can be placed in quotation marks, because it does not mirror the true history of the language. She said that she understands that it concentrates more on the Gideon Malherbe's and the contribution that was made by them to the development of the language. She said that one should go and look at the history and the development of the Kaaps-Maleier Afrikaans, that began before the so-called white man spoke Afrikaans. She said that years before Afrikaans was accepted by the colonialists, the Moslem community used Afrikaans as a written language, and official language for their religion. So, at this stage, she said there is a lot of antagonism towards an Afrikaans Language-museum. She said that the students would regard you very sceptically if you were to take them to the Gideon Malherbe House, and even the Afrikaans Language-monument was built on the wrong place. And the students do not see this as a monument to the language, but as a place where you can go and relax. She said that if a language-museum is being planned for the future, it should be against the slopes of Cape mountain, where it all began, with the original books that were translated into Afrikaans and the actual people who made a contribution to Afrikaans. She said that then the students regard of the language will be more positive. But not only them, but also the teachers who present the language, because a lot of the time the teachers are influenced by the negative historic creation.

She said that in the current syllabus, they do not deal with the creation of the language. She said that that was pathetic, for with every mother-tongue, you should be able to research back into the history of the language, and create a space for this research. She said that it should, be focused on, even if you steal here and there, you should study Gideon Malherbe and those

already taught it to her child, and all her years are still in front of her, while she on her turn will teach it to her children, and in that way it will keep on living. She said that she believes it will not die out, even if we must use it in such a way that other people will not understand us; you may speak English, we will speak Afrikaans. She said that the language is still developing, and that people are using it to their best advantage. And if the people are satisfied with the way they are using the language, and they teach it to their children, it will not fade. I then asked her if she meant that it will no longer be used in state departments, but because of the more relaxed regard towards AB Afrikaans, it will live on as home language. To this she answered yes, and said that it will subside in terms of the law but in the mouths of the people it will still be heard.

She then said that at one stage she felt very strongly about Afrikaans. She said that even though people would start a conversation in English, she would persist in speaking Afrikaans. She said that she had always felt receptionists should greet people in both languages. She said that at one stage she felt that there was being discriminated against Afrikaans. But she has begun to change, she said. She said that she has already accepted that at some stage Afrikaans will not hold that prestigious position that it holds at this stage. And as soon as it falls away as one of the national languages, there will be an relaxation in speaking the language, but it will not die out completely.

I then told her of a writer from Windhoek that has said that Afrikaans had become a MILLSTONE, that people felt that they had to speak the language. He had said that had there been a relaxation of the above, and the people had spoken their home language more easily, then maybe Afrikaans would not have died out so quickly. I asked Ms C if she thought this was a valid statement to make. She answered yes, and said that it goes hand in hand with politics. That people turn away from the language because it is a language of the oppressor. She said that the socio-linguistics did a study of the Cape area, and although she cannot remember what the study was about, she knows that they had found that for the Capetonian, from Ravensmead-area, the rich will speak English. And these people taught their children English will a specific aim in mind. That we will not speak Afrikaans because you oppress us in that language, so we will speak English. On the other hand, she said, you must be big enough to fight in that language, and for the continuation of that language. She said that she is a advocate of the language, but that the writer does have a point.

TAPE STOPS.

End of Interview.

with the compositions that she thinks in a feminist way. She said that she included specific topics for the boys and the girls. The topics for the girls are more sentimental, and those for the boys more thought provoking. She said that sometimes the boys right just as furiously on the sentimental stuff and the girls on the violence and war. She said that in her third or honours year she did a book by Barto Smit called "Ousus", and in that she was able to see how woman was being oppressed. But she has not come across any such a book in the school. She said that if d=she has to speak on feminism she will have to speak from a layperson's perspective.

I then asked her if she thinks there is place for feminism in the museum. That the woman's role should be portrayed, or that the museum should only be providing the history, and leave feminism well alone. To this Ms C answered that she feels the museum should keep itself to the history only. She said that if the museum has a statue of W.E.G. Louw and one of Elisabeth Eybers, then it has given women their rightful place. She said that as soon as it is going to let itself into that area, it will become a political struggle, and she said, she does not think that is the purpose of a museum. Because, she said the boys might decide that they do not want to go to the museum, so, it should remain with the history of the language. She said that in her classroom there are portraits and there are some of women next to the men on the walls. So, she said, the girls cannot say that there are only men posted on the walls. On the other side, she said, they, (the museum) can start a feminist struggle, and she, who is already somewhat set in her ways, may become part of this struggle, because of the museum. But for the moment, she said, she is not really interested, and therefore she will stick to the history.

I then asked her if she thinks there is a history for the Afrikaans language. She then said that she has had many a tearful night thinking about it. She said that any student of Tony Links will fell this way because he had said that he was born in Afrikaans, was raised in the language, and will most probably die in the language. She said that she had also felt that way, but that she is now beginning to question this. She said that the language is in any case not the language that it was before, because it is a Cape-Afrikaans. Yet, she says, she is unsure whether it will die out altogether. Maybe, she said, it will be spoken less and less, but she doesn't believe it will fade away completely. She said that the language might fall away as one of the national languages, and that will already be a great sacrifice for the continuation of the language. She said that she has one comfort, that Afrikaans is studied at a Russian University, and that says, she said, that if it dies here, it will live on in another university. She said that she thinks that less people will speak the language, and that it will become as a third language. She said that we will be telling our children, that they should do Afrikaans as students are now doing German. But, she once again said, it will not die out.

I then said that it will not die out in the mouths of the people. To this she answered no, and said that if that should happen, it will not happen in her life time. Because, she said, she has

protestations. While, said Ms C, within the context of the book, that "Baas" did not make Fiela inferior, but that the "baas" becomes the inferior one. She said that because these men had preset ideas, and because the Cape had started the problems in the past, they felt they could not risk sending the book there. Therefore they decided to withhold it from the rest of the country. I then said that they sound as if they are afraid. To this Ms C answered that they are afraid to try something new, because they believe they will be receiving a lot of criticisms.

Ms C said that she is waiting for the day that they decide that the teachers are able to choose the books, themselves. I then said that the department will be able to provide more reasons, that they will say, okay, do these books but remember, the following. To this she said that they are indeed limited by the department. She said that the teacher for example will be allowed to choose ten books, but will then be asked to present it to the inspector. She said that in that way you do not have a free choice. She said that even she would have second thoughts in allowing a teachers to choose for 30 students whom you are responsible for. For instance, a teacher who likes violence, and who then chooses the books for the students. She said that one should not remove the criteria all together, but must be able to show the students some of life's values. Also that the chosen piece has some literary value. For, she said the students watch enough television.

We then went on to speak about feminism. We first cleared up what was meant by feminism. I asked her if she believed that there should be a place provided to study feminism in the school situation, or the syllabus. Speaking, for instance of the Afrikaans language and literature, for instance, more women writers and poets, that the comprehension work is scrutinised in terms of feminism and the language used in these pieces, how women are portrayed and how the relationship between men and women are portrayed. To this Ms C answered that she has never been bothered by the above. In the novels, she has never consciously thought that the women were treated badly and that this has a negative reflection on the girls in the class. She said that there are quite a few women poetess', poetess', yes. She said that she does not believe that the man is the boss and you as a woman is the subjected one. She said that we as people believe that in the last few years, a decade or two women have grown up being equal. She said that she has not come across some place where it has bothered her that the women was being treated badly. She said that the past two years, there have been women in all the novels, and they did not do all the odd-jobs in the house, so there was not a master-servant relationship. Everyone did their own bit.

TAPE STOPS.

I then said that according to her there is not a great discrepancy between the women's role in the novels and that in reality. She answered that if she was older she might have seen the difference, but that she believes that she fill her place equally as any other man. She said that it has never happened that in the class-situation that the girls, after reading a book, that they have voiced their objection. She said that it is only

of the Afrikaans Language). She said that the students will be much more attracted to the Alternative museum than the current old museum. She said that when you attempt to do a traditional poem such as "Slaap"(Sleep), and then shift to a poem by Breyten Breytenbach that was written on a piece of toilet paper in prison and which only bears the word "Kak"(Shit), then you can go back to the original poem, because you will now have the students' undivided attention. She said that the students are definitely interested in alternative literature. I asked whether this was because the poem was something totally new, or because of some other reason. She said that the students associate more with alternative Afrikaans, because it is more political. She said they do not have an affinity with the other more traditional stories that is about the Voortrekkers, and farm stories. She said that last year it was felt that the students would be interested in Computer science novels, because, she said, the student cannot transport himself/herself into the past, into 1806. She said that those novels speak about things that students cannot understand, and that video games are what they know. She said that the student swears in Afrikaans, and that he/she reads about sex, drugs, and violence, and not about courting.

I then asked her whether more progress has been made in terms of incorporating newer poems into the syllabus, or whether the novels and the poems were more or less on the same footing. Ms C answered by saying that the problem with the poetry is that one book is used, but that next year they would be using a new anthology. She said that the strange thing is that the new anthology incorporates a few new poems, but in essence it is the same book as the old one. The same tired "O, die pyngedagte"(Oh, the painful thought.). She said that the new poems do not even count 10%. She said that this will not pacify the student, even though it is a kind of progress, and even though the student will see new poems not previously included. Turning to the novels and the plays, she said that the plays have made better progress than the novels. She said that once again the plays had to fall within a set criteria. She said that sex and drugs are not forbidden anymore.

She then started speaking about the Book Committee.

She said that she feels that the student sees sex, drugs and violence on tv, and reads it in the newspaper, even though you might want to keep it out of the novels being prescribed for the schools. She said that the students' mind are infused with politics, in any case, you cannot keep it away from them. I then said that the students do see all these things with their own eyes and that the school is then an unreality. She said that she herself has been a lone voice, and said that you as teacher feel stupid, because you know the student knows about sex and violence. She said that the people have to realise that these things are not alien to the student, so you might as well give it to him. She said that those people who prescribe the books, have preset ideas. She said that they thought the novel "Fiela se kind"(Fiela's child) can be included in the George area and in Cradock, while it would cause problems in the Cape area, because those teachers will protest. She said that they felt that where Fiela says "baas"(boss), the teachers would make

Afrikaans to remain as it currently is, as Hein Willemsse has made it. She said that she might be of the old school, where you are sentimental about Afrikaans. She said that if the syllabus does move towards incorporation of the history, it remains to be seen if the teacher will adapt to the syllabus. Ms C said that it seems as if there needs to be a whole reorganisation in the entire setup; the syllabus, the teachers, and the university training before there will be uniformity.

I then told her about my involvement in CER, and their mission to make knowledge available to the rest of the community that has been produced within academia. And that the reason for this is because CER feels there is a gap between this community and the academic sphere.

She then said that she is on the book-committee at the school, and that the teachers complain about the novels in the syllabus. That it is from a white perspective. She said that they say that there are new and modern books. She said that there is a set of criteria that the novels need to adhere to, before it becomes a setwork book. Some of these criteria are the following; it must not expose the child to drugs and/ or sex; it should be examinable; it must have literary worth; but the new novels do not use standard Afrikaans, but Cape-Afrikaans. Therefore, she said, it does not fall into the criteria and thus are never seen in the classroom. She said that this also ties in with the history of the Afrikaans language. She said that some of the teachers have developed a abhorrence in the language because they want to include new books in the syllabus, and when they do not, they do not even want to deal with the set books. She also said that they need to develop a more open approach to the literature, and they are developing and thinking around that idea. She said that there will not be any examinations, and that the teachers will have the freedom to study those books that interest them, and in the manner that they want, and also evaluate the student accordingly. She then said that this is for the future New South Africa. She said that as soon as the detest of literature is broken down, the teachers will see that they have to tell the student how the language came to be. I then recalled the time Cheryl Carolus came to speak at CER, and said that the ANC has realised that they have to educate their members in accepting and listening to another person's viewpoint. She said that she also believes one should be able to give all the viewpoints concerning the history of the Afrikaans language, and let the students make up their minds. While others think that only the new Afrikaans is valid.

I then asked her if there is a place for an alternative museum that presents the history of the language and that is community orientated. She answered, yes, and said that it would attract more people. She said she had used comprehensions taken out of a book on alternative afrikaans. For instance, it had pieces on the speech by Martin Luther King, from history about the beginnings of the language, i.e. whether coloured people started the language, or not, and about the word "coloured". She said that the students did much better in that comprehension, and they did not moan that the reading was too long. The way they do with the traditional HAT (Handboek van die Afrikaanse Taal/Handbook

times, and there the student will find old documents and busts of the old men of the Afrikaans language. She said that the museum will be an elephant if it is people are not drawn to it. She then said that speaking for herself, from tomorrow, she is not going send her students to the museum. If she does not deal with the history in the classroom, then it's unnecessary that she should refer them to the museum. She said that one can inform the students and say, " Listen if you want to know something about the history of the language, go and visit the language-museum. But she said, if the student has to write an exam, and it is in the syllabus, and she as teacher takes the student to the museum, then you will utilise the museum usefully. She then said that the students do not even see the statue of Andrew Murray, nor the plaque that was erected opposite the same statue, which they pass everyday. She then asked whether such a student will go to the museum. She said that it is fruitless, that students' thoughts are not ripe enough. She said that the time when children still went to the library is gone. So is the time that they would go to the museum to find more information, because they are inquisitive. She said that it would take 10 years before you are able to get the students to go to the museum. She said that the school library is not utilised and the students do not have to walk far to use that.

I then asked her if she meant that a museum culture has to be formed, and if it is the teachers job to take the students to the museum, or if the latter should be the ones to contact the students. She said that she felt that the two should go hand-in-hand, and that the museum can contact the students, but that it should go through the teachers. She also said that the museum can start campaigns and they can place advertisements, but that they must work through the teacher, and must start at the primary school. She then said that a lot of students do not see the Afrikaans culture as their own, and that the word "culture" is itself problematic for many of the students. She said that you can ask any child, " Come, lets speak about your culture" , and that person will not be able to tell you what that culture is. She said that one must go back further, and try and first evoke a sense of pride in their Afrikaans culture and then you can move on. She said that you will have to stimulate the student in order that he/she will want to gain more information. She said that the child must be taught within that culture from the beginning. She said that as long as we have televisions and videogames, it as good as giving up.

She then spoke about the fact that it is not the students fault that their general knowledge is lacking. She said that it is the teachers place to inform the child, and that a space should be kept, such as the oral period, to provide the information about the history of the language, or about a poet. She also said that the syllabus is formed by people who are not in the working situation. She said that there are a lot of work that is redundant in the syllabus and that can be left out, and place made for something like the history of the language. However, she said that there are some teachers who do not hold the same idea that the history of the language should be taught in the schools. Younger people, she said, who see themselves as part of the political struggle, will say that they want the study of

Interview 2 with Mr D, on 11/11/91.

The interview took place at the home of Mr D.

The political context of the museum.

Mr D said that the political context must be given, especially in the South African context. For the reason that there are different languages in S.A., but only a museum for Afrikaans, and for the Afrikaner. In an alternative museum then, it must be stated. The politics cannot be severed from the language, because the language is part and parcel of the culture. I asked him whether the violence should also be given, even the history 5yrs before the setting up of an museum? He answered yes, the uproar of '76, and the teaching of Afrikaans in Black schools. He said that the reality is violence, that the history should go back 10-15 years. I then said that the standing museum does not show the political side, even though L.T. Du Plessis has said that the language movement to get Afrikaans accepted, was in actual fact a political one, and that one should give the social and economic environment of people. Mr D then commented that the museum was a pallet forced on people, and that it stands loose of the social, economic, and political situation of people. Because it cannot stand loose from the language and museum, it must therefore be made accountable, by being inserted in the museum. He spoke about Pieter Marais who has translated a National Party document into Kaaps Afrikaans. He says this ties in with the social, economic, and political system, because language variants come back to politics.

I asked him whether he had an idea of how a variant should be set up in a museum. He answered by beginning to talk about the fact that the current museum does not make provision for variants. he said it's 'Uit en uit AB Afrikaans. (AB stands for algemeen beskaafde -generally civilized) If variants were given a place in the museum, it would have to be as an equal to AB Afrikaans. He made an example of setting it in geographical areas where a certain or particular variant is spoken, eg, Kaaps, Namakwalands, Ooskaaps. It should be done in such a way that it shows how the different variants complement each other, till it culminates into AB Afrikaans. The important factor is that it's equalled with AB Afrikaans. He said that there should not only be a museum in the Boland only for Bolandse Afrikaans, or one in Cape Town, for Kaaps Afrikaans, but the museum in the Bo-Kaap must reflect all the variants, so that the context and the relation is presented.

He said the alternative museum\lab should also incorporate all the alternatives in such a way that it is perceived as equal. He spoke about the fact that Paarl is lucky to have the museum in the sense that schools can visit it. Yet the schools in the rest of the country cannot. The problem is that the museum is not being used in that sense. He said that the regional museums do not all have to be the same in size. He said it had to attract the visitor, and then maybe this person will go to the "big museum in Cape Town." Additionally, it must interest the visitor in such a manner that the person will do additional

reading, and then, he says, the museum has achieved something.

I then inferred about an alternative museum in the context of a theatre. Mr D had the idea of using one drama, and having it performed in the variants, as well as AB Afrikaans. He says it connects with the idea of how variants are portrayed, and the fact that the audience would immediately see the connection between the variants. He says that AB Afrikaans is not the reality. The audience will see that "My variant is my variant, and he says to me what the other variant says." I commented that his idea also involved the audience directly, which made for direct contact with the museum. Mr D felt their reactions would inform the museum authorities how successful their venture had been. He said the important point would be that the people would come for a second time.

We then returned to the issue of school visits to the museum, and Mr D commented that schools only get a certain amount of days free for extramural excursions. This is a problem, but additionally, there is also the problem of transport. He says this is the reasons why schools do not visit museums. On the other hand, museums should be integrated with school syllabus. He says the museum is in the town, and it expects the people to go to it. While he thinks it is about time the museum starts selling itself. Selling in the sense of making contact with schools. he says, thinking of the Paarl museum, the language museum, the hours are posted up on the museum, yet it is not at the schools. He says the museum can contact the schools and state their hours, so as to do something to pull people to visit them. He refers to projects, and compares the local library which have projects running during the vacation for the children. From the side of the school, it must make the museum part of it's syllabus. Students should be given projects which will force them to visit the museum seeking information not readily available in the handbooks or other sources.

I spoke about asking people from the community to participate in doing projects or giving lectures. In which way the context of museum can be broadened. Mr D commented that the museum should not be just an old building, but a place for the community. In this he meant that the facilities of the museum should be used by the community on an everyday basis, for eg, as a place for community meetings. He returned to the idea of having lectures, and commented that the use of a local person means involving the community. Talking about this, he went on to state that the museum closes after office hours, when most parents come home. And Sundays it's closed, because S.A. is very christian. He also said that it should be open later at night, like the library which is open between 7 and 9 in the evening. He talked about having a free bus service running from one area in Paarl called New York, to another called Amstelhof. He says it could run on a hourly basis, seeing that 60-80% of S.A. population is poor. This he says, will attract the community.

We went on to talk about the idea of an alternative language museum. Mr D suggested that a community be in on the museum from the planning stages. If the community is allowed to

provide insights, they will realize the value and worth of the museum. This he says, is because they know the local concerns had been taken into account. Then, too the museum will be utilised by the community, because they were part of the process from the beginning. I then summarised what Mr D had spoken about. He returned to the idea of the museum selling itself. He raised the idea of having a tuckshop at the museum, saying, that it should be fun going to the museum. He says even tourists do not want to visit museums any more. They, he says, are more into having fun. He says, that in the museum, a person has to be silent and reserved. It is worse than going to the library.

We went on to talk about language variants. Mr D referred back to our earlier conversation, about equal status among the variants. He said that what was important was the growth of the language. He said people are always concerned with history, but they look no further. Creating new words. But even the latter, has not been kept up to date, and only incorporates a certain time span. But the language grows and it expands. The variants, and the standard grows and expands. He said the new proverbs are not recorded in the books as yet. He said it should be part of the museum to note and continually include this development.

I commented that this something like a research community. Mr D said that if the community is drawn into the research, and is placed in the library, it would serve to make the museum functional. I asked him how this would be presented practically and physically. He commented that it would be difficult. He said the best way would be visual, not meaning only auditory. He spoke about building video games and computer games into the museum. He said the person would get access to the language variants through the machine, and grasp it through a game. He said the museum would also be on the side of technology. Compared to reading long passages. It would be physical, and audiovisual, he would see and hear. The hearing would mean in all it's frequencies, with sound effects, also background, music. It should keep with technology (development), and interest.

I pointed out that he was condensing in one idea the social context, and the technological development, as well as keeping with the child's own development. Mr D agreed, and said it's better than just seeing scripts lying around. I agreed and said he also refers to interaction between the child and the museum. Mr D said that the child would want to go back to the museum to play games. He referred to something I had mentioned about plays, and said it all came back to the latter. He said it is important to get to the child early on, 'cause later he will come to the museum of his own accord. He also mentioned puppet shows, and the fascination it had for the student's at the college. He said that the growth of the language could be recreated through the puppet shows. I raised the problem that museums do not have a lot of money, therefore projects should be light and manageable and have a long running life, while on the other hand people tend to get bored, with something that has a long run. Mr D proposed that the puppet show be shown

every 3 months, or once every 6 months. A good programme, running for 1 2 3 days and then it ends. If you then look at the financial side, and it's a problem, you can have it once only once. He envisioned the program in the following way, a number of schools would come on a day for maximum use of the show. The show would be at the school for a week, and the schools would come on certain days. He then had the idea that it could be changed, and the puppet show be taken to the schools. He did acknowledge that it could be a great financial burden on the museum.

We then went on to discuss feminism and museums. Mr D started by saying that feminism is something that would interest some, and not others. Women have been a part of communities throughout all the ages. He said that museums should be used to promote feminism, and that it should be addressed through the bottom-up approach. He said that with the museum's initial planning women should have a voice, and that they should not be included at the end of the planning procedures. Women should be asked what they would want to see in the museum. But, her cautions, their contributions should not be swept under the mat, and not be realised, due to financial problems. He said that a very important point was that the child was at it's mother's knee, and there it learned the language, so now the child will be able to see the mother in the museum as well. In that way the child will be able to see that it is not only the father or men who created, or writes the language. The child learns that, as the mother teaches it, so she is equally in the museum. The mother is not only in the home, and not in the museum.

He said that women's literary work should also come to it's own right, and in that way the child will see that the women are as important as men. The poetess is as important as the poet, and vice versa, and the child will become aware of this balance. He referred back to the fact that the most of the literature studied in the schools are by men, saying that people are subjective, and not objective, even though history says that it is possible, That is even more reason he believes that the work of women should be put in the museum, and not because they are women. He said that there are both men and women who write badly, yet, he says, there will be a exhibit of Wilber Smith books, and not of Nadine Gordimer. He said if a part of the museum is to be set apart for women, then it should be done. To prove that women are on the same par, and deserve the same acknowledgement. He reiterated that more women should be drawn into the planning of the museum from the initial period. He also stressed that women should not just be forced into an agenda, but that they should take part in eg, presentations, plays. I then referred to Jeanne Goosen and her use of language variants, saying that it would be interesting to use her work for a play. I also Agreed with his point that women cannot be placed at the end of an agenda, but that it should be integration. To which Mr D answered that it is not about giving a place to women, but that they work to deserve it.

End of interview.

Interview 2 with Mr.C on 3/12/91

The interview took place at the home of Mr C.

We started by looking at the gap that exists between the schooling system and the museum. Mr C asked the question whether there is a desire to have a link between the museum and the school. He said that up to that stage, museums had not been used in the school system. He said that if you do forge a link, it would mean that Afrikaner Nationalism would also be encouraged in the child, except as alternative museum. I then referred to L.T. du Plessis who says that one should take the bull by the horns and deconstruct the past, and in that way reclaim it. Afrikaner Nationalism could then be said to grow exactly because it is not criticized I then asked the question whether one should first look at the gap and then ask whether it is necessary to force a link. Mr C then said that we are looking at 2 questions, 1) Reclaiming a past. 2) Criticising artifacts that exists. He said that we are trying to prevent the growth of Nationalism by not entering into a dialogue with it. Getting back to the first point he raised, he said that we can only reclaim our past if the artifacts is in the form of written documents, or in the oral form. He said that now, we do not have a past to reclaim through the physical artefact. He said that Du Plessis is a white writer who feels that we should criticise Nationalism. But, he says that sounds typically like a white person's argument. He says that we should refrain from doing it, because we become contaminated by dealing in Nationalism. He said that they work with artifacts everyday. He said that the literature is written by whites, and that they criticise it on literary level. But it is first world culture standards and is not necessarily the perspectives that we would like to see.

I then commented that the teacher is in a catch 22 situation. He/she deals in 1st world critic standards, which binds the teacher's thoughts, because they have to send the students through the examinations. Mr C said that they were really caught in the schooling syllabus. He said that the people who set up the memorandums and the syllabus is the policy makers. He said the college is moving into, the direction where the teachers themselves will be able to choose what literature you would want to do. I returned to the question whether it would be necessary to fill the museum/ school gap. Mr C said that he does not believe that there really is such a gap, of something that is needed. He said that he did not believe it necessary that the children become acquainted with artifacts. He said our history does not get portrayed in such museums. I then enquired how one would go about putting our history into a museum. He said that the stories which we can remember, which have been carried down for a long time should be written down, and in the language of the people, be made an artefact, even though one does not know if you can make it an artefact. He said you should look at the history of schools, and that of the language, and note the contribution of the group of people who have not been mentioned. I then said that idea was a way of drawing the people into the museum, by using these stories. He said that

artifacts which one could refer to are written pieces, short

stories. He said that we do not have printing machines, so what will we put in the museum? I said that it sounds as if he is broadening the idea of an artefact, making the language a living artefact, as well as the stories. He said that he was not aware of any other stuff that could be used to put in the museum. What does a cup say of the language, he said. He said only the medium through which the language has been provided, such as newspapers and magazines, can be used, because we have never had the money to produce such stuff. He said maybe copies of the "South", and even that is not totally our own culture. It has also been sponsored out of the liberal circle. I included the "Vrye Weekblad" (Free Weekly paper). He agreed, and said that we had very little which we can classify in what he saw as a "eng" (narrowly defined) class called artefact.

We started talking about protest literature, of which he had the following to say, that it came mostly in the form of poetry, and plays on the Cape flats. He said that there was not a lot available, and that he feels that if 20 plays had been written in the last 50 years, it would be a lot. I then related to him a story that I had read by a woman who lectured at Fort Hare, and who had written about the coming of the unrest to the white areas. I told him that the stories she wrote should up (to me), the different levels of unrest literature. Mr C then posed the question, who is "the community", and what I meant by the word. I explained that to me it meant the person in the street, the people who lives near the museum, , we who live on the other side of the museum, and the people of whom the museum speaks. Everybody who has a right to be part of the museum. He then asked if I was not referring to a certain race, to which I answered, no. Mr C then said that if one uses the term "alternative", it feels as if you exclude the white group because he feels they do not have a tradition of the alternative. I then tried to draw together what had been said, by referring back to the book I had read, which talks to different levels of protest. I also picked up on the fact that Mr C talks about "our people" (ons mense), referring to black people and not white people, when he talks. To this he said that one must look to the context of the talk, that it is being created by the word "alternative". He said that when he speaks, he excludes the white group, and that is why he says that we do not have artifacts, such as the printing press.

We then went on to talk about the 5th question. Mr C said that you effectively take away a person's identity if he does not have his own language, if his own language is not written down. He said that is what they are doing to the children at the schools. He said that he speaks one language, the student another when he gets home. His identity which he has at home, is being taken away from him, and another identity given to him. He said that maybe the language variants that exist today should be taken up in a museum. He was not sure whether the written language would be a suitable form. He went on to say, that the difference in the Afrikaans of our community, and that of the whites is not situated in the language item that are used, but in the vocabulary. He said that language variants are mostly deviations. He said that it is a variant in terms of it's sound and not it's construction. But the fact that you do refer to someone's articulation of the word, or that you correct it, already says

to the person, that he has a inferior form. He said that maybe one should include audio machines in the museum, and say to the people, "this is how our people speak." Then people will be able to identify with it. He said that the museum might even be able to give credence to a language variant, where the school syllabus will not do it.

I drew together what he had said about the divide between the school and the home, and that the audio-machine will be a device to make the gap smaller. He said that no matter what language you then get taught in the school, there should still be a standard Afrikaans. He said that it is not only the sound variant, but one finds items used in one area that does not exist in another. He said that for that reason, a grammar should be defined. He went on to say that in many cases our people do not have a language identity. He said that another problem was the level of Afrikaans in the books and the spoken language, which also takes away the identity. He said that a lot of student's have problems with Afrikaans, and they get to dislike the language, but not the language itself, but the subject Afrikaans.

BREAK IN TAPE.

I mentioned that the idea of an audiotape is surfacing for the 2nd time and that it is a very good idea. But what would happen if people actually end up laughing at each others variant? Mr C responded that student's from the college come from different areas in the land, and that in the beginning, the Namakwalanders were very self conscious at the beginning about their variant. But with the passing of time, that gave way. He said again that the problem was not a language-problem, it was not the use of the right word, but a sound difference, a difference in the expression, and the tempo of the word. He said that he does not have a problem with people laughing, because they would still feel secure about their own variant. He said what was important was that the variant would be given a place, and thus would be receiving recognition. He said that it helps to make student's aware of the variants. He said that people would become aware that it is not only they who speak a variant, but that there are people all over the country who speak variants, and maybe that will help them communicate better.

_I suggested that variants on the language are not shown and so people laugh at variants, and thus it acquires a pejorative sense. To which he answered that is not negative. He said that "mo" and "po" were both variants and are not the standard expression. He said that at this moment we speak the cape-variant, when we are speaking our "everyday" language. In as academic situation, he finds it difficult to communicate in the cape-variant, because he is used to the classroom-afrikaans for academia.

I then raised the idea that socialisation plays a major part in influencing the use of the variant, and thus the creation of different identities. Mr C said that it was not so much an identity as it was what is called the register, or the style, depending on the situation. Talking about the situation, he meant that if it was an academic context the speaker might choose a more academic sort of language. If the same person might be talking to her/his friend, that person might choose to use non-academic language, or style of language. He said that the

situation would influence the language and the style to be used. He said that the recorder did have influence, because if you use "djy" and "djou" (variants of you and your), it will not sound too nice. He went back to saying that if he is playing dominoes with friends, the whole situation would be different, and the language he would use would be different. I referred to the "Agenda" of the previous week, in which people repeatedly phoned in and spoke about the dogs that "loop op die lawn" (the dogs that walk on the lawn). Mr C then spoke of the word "boks"(box), saying that earlier it would have been seen as wrong to speak about a "boks hoender"(box chicken). He went on to say that if children get the idea that variants are not wrong, then the language will become estranged from the Afrikaner, meaning the white Afrikaner. He said it would have repercussions all over the land and not only with the whites, if Paarl decides to speak Paarl Afrikaans. He said that the classroom is an academic situation, and that an academic language is suitable, and people might not see Paarl Afrikaans as a suitable teaching medium. He said that even though he does not know what language the other teachers use who do not teach afrikaans, he has the idea that they use the standard, because there is the perception of the academic language, the academic expression of words, because he says people have been conditioned in this way.

I went on to talk about the mediums through which the language is given, such as the tv and the radio. I mentioned that Mr D said that the presenters are white, and that they use the standard. I referred back to the Agenda section, and said that the presenters use the word "grasperk"(lawn), but those who phone in, use the word "lawn", and that this shows an Afrikaner Nationalism. Mr C said that he had the idea that the people who phoned in was Afrikaners. He said that the Academic institution, as a Nationalistic institution, would be dead set against their presenters using the word "lawn". He said some have a very strong sense of Nationalism, and are constantly translating English words into Afrikaans. He gave examples, such as "gulley" in cricket, which is now "gangetjie"(directly translated it means hallway). Also, a "no-ball" is called a "fout-bal". (directly translated it means mistake-ball). He said that it is the presenters who have such an obsession. Whether it is to strengthen the Afrikaans language, or to validate the language, he does not know.

I then said that it ties in to the first question of the politics of the museum. Who says "lawn" in the museum? The museum was established in 1975, when nobody spoke about "lawn". Therefore it reflects the radio and tv standard language, and that this is a marriage of the tv and radio. I also said that the people who phone in on the Afrikaans radio station speak the standard. Mr C then said that to his mind the people who listen to the Afrikaans radio station are Afrikaners, and not non-whites. To which I replied that I knew people, being so called non-white who do listen to the radio station. Mr C then said that even though there are so many radio stations to choose from, and that in our community, people listen to radio Good Hope. He said the presenters speak Afrikaans, but one does not see it as a Afrikaans station, and one does not know if the people who phone in speak Afrikaans. I then gave him a few examples of the kind

of programmes they offer on the Afrikaans radio station, such as: a word game between the northern and southern spheres, where the teams have to guess the origins of Afrikaans words, and /or their meanings; as well as a phone in programme where listeners talk about their surnames and their old schools.

Mr C then said that in many cases the presenters speak one language, while the people who phone in, speak another. He said that it 's not really the same with museums, He said that the artefact is the artefact of the ideal, and not of the community. He said that this immediately leaves a gap between the community and the museum. He said that the artefact does not reflect the common, the everyday, but the unique, the cup out of which Jan van Riebeeck drank. Not the common cup, but a reified cup. He said that he is afraid that if you put the language as a artefact in the museum, the voice of someone written down, it is once again not the contribution of the community. If you establish a museum, the reified and not the everyday will be in the museum. He said that museums do not reflect the everyday in the museum. One can say something about the politics of the time, so that when you write something, you rather talk about the politics. He said one should talk about the context of the community, and not talk about the everyday through artifacts. I then said that artifacts are given their ideal state, and asked how one would go about stripping that off, so that it shows a relationship with the community? Mr C then suggested taping peoples voices on to cassettes, and catching them in their everyday relationships to one another. This would show their true language use , language proficiency, of their *sound* He said that one never get the common person to write something, and that the museum will always be divorced from the community. He said that it won't manage to grasp the average person. I referred back to the first question which looked at the political context and said that the museum, being established in 1975, was still caught up in 1945, that the language is the "Afrikaner language of the father". Mr C said that Afrikaner Nationalism was at it's height at that stage. I said that the museum is like a time machine that transports people back to 1945, and to the time Gideon Malherbe was born. I then asked how the political context of an alternative museum should be shown, and if it is necessary that it is. Mr C answered that the museum not only crystallised a specific era, but also aimed at the development of the language. He said that it is not only restricted to '75, but that a lot of work was done in the previous years, and that the Nationalism of those years is what the museum wants to preserve, therefore, he says, they will go back as far as possible into history. He says that the time Nationalism was strong, the language and the Nationalism went hand in hand, and this is what was captured. He said that the museum shows the part Paarl played in the Nationalistic movement. He also said that a museum cannot capture a year, one cannot talk about a day or a month, to give the political context of one year. He said what would then have to happen, would be to have all the papers of a few years to get an idea of the political context. He said newspapers, everything that has been said and written, that is seen as having authority, but not of the community (recurring theme????). He said that books, poetry, all reflect on themes that have happened 20 years ago.

I then posed the question, whether there is a way in which the voice of the community can be captured, if you use a projector, or slides, and show the political context, is it right to do something like that? Mr C answered that in such a case one should go to the community and say, "okay we want to establish a museum, what is your reaction to this?". But he also said that he is unsure how wise it is to ask the people. He then asked whether the question is really what personal contributions they have to offer. He once again said that he is unsure whether it is feasible to ask such a question. He suggested another question, which would ask, "what do you (community) think should be in the museum? I asked the question whether one should take it a step forward, but Mr C was unsure what that meant. The question was whether one should ask "Do you think it is good that a language museum should exist?" Mr C then went on to ask what the procedures of the current museum would have been, and decided that the committee would have decided that a museum should be established, but, he said, the current problem would be how to reflect the everyday in the

TAPE STOPS.

I asked whether it is futile to ask people what their desires of a museum is, when it will never be able to encapsulate the everyday, and will not be a comparison of their lives? That it is not bread and butter issues. Mr C picked up on this issue and said that it depends where people are in their own process, where they are in terms of security. He said that those people who do not have security, will not venture outside of that domain. He said that if the economy and the social sphere changes, the people might have a desire to visit museums. He said people have not visited museums yet, because they do not have the desire to do so. He said that he personally went to the museums in Namibia, to see how the people lived there, and it was much as he pictured it would be, with the Afrikaner ox-wagons there as well. He said that as long as we have an economic problem, people will not really spend much debate on museums. He said that with museums people only go to there that are outside their own town, and not those museums in their towns. He said that when he goes to Cape Town, he will visit the museum (S.A.museum) because it is an attraction, but not primarily for educative reasons, as he said "...dis maar meestal entertainment." (it's mostly entertainment.) He said that it has educative value when you are there, you learn something of the different races. You learn something about their way of life, but he said that is not the primary reason people go. He said that he thinks it is more out of curiosity.

I referred to Juanita who did a deconstruction of the Diorama in the South African museum, and that we overheard the racist and sexist comments that were made about it, and other exhibitions. I then said that as visitors do not always have the context in which to criticise a museum, but that the people of Paarl do. I then said that even though he said it will be difficult to encapsulate the economic and social aspects of life, how can one do this for a visitor to a museum? He responded that one should maybe change the appearance of the museum. Not that it should look like a five star hotel, but like the flats in Paarl, then the museum will be saying something of the community. He said that with all the social stratifications it is difficult, and one should maybe have rooms that will reflect the each part of the

community: this is what a house in Chicago looks like, and a house in New Orleans, in Klein Parys. Not that there is much difference between New Orleans and Klein Parys.¹ He said that the rooms would be a representation of the different communities, and as you walk into the room, there will be a conversation going. The people might be sitting around the table busy with a meal, if they have a table. He said that maybe, while Klein New Orleans' people sit at the table, the people living in New Orleans sit at the TV and eat. He said this idea is a good one, and it would be saying more of the everyday; how the people themselves look, and how they talk.

I then mentioned that in fact this would then become a lab in a sense. Mr C agreed, and said that for him, if you want to reflect the samelewing/community, this is the way to do it. He said this would mean that you'll have to go out and see how the people live, and see in what sense does his social standing have on the language that he uses, in this way one might find a great correlation. He said that the nearer you are to the Afrikaner language, the bier your salary. Not that the Western civilization has given us much, although you do commute easier from point A to point B, but in the process you destroy the ozone layer. I then raised the dilemma that although the set up will be easy to grasp for people from Paarl, someone from Tjsego Slovenia, will not be able to understand the nuances between Chicago and New Orleans. Mr C then said that he visualises the scene in front of him, the scene in the room. Each room has a group of people and the variant that they speak. He said that you would have to have a house with 100 rooms for every area in the land, and when the person of Tsjego Slavenia comes, he will be able to see the effect the environment has on the person and his language. He said that one would expect the person living in Chicago to have a different language than the person living here (this is New Orleans), that person's language would express more the frustrations of his life, while he, Mr C, whose life-style is easier, will not express as much frustrations in his language. He referred to the Namakwalanders and said that it is because of enjoyment that they swear as much as they do. I then said that this could turn out to be caricaturing of people. to which Mr C answered that we had spoken about the Cape Town museum, where the people made comments when they were looking at the exhibitions, and he said that this would always happen. He said the child living in Chicago would laugh at the people living in Cortrai.² He said that this would then not be caricatures, as long as you keep to the truth, with as many rooms for as many truths. He said that one should look to the typical, and try to produce that. He said that people are scared to go into Mbekweni³, because people have certain perceptions of the place. He said a lot of white people are afraid to come to New Orleans because they do not know what happens there. He said that his white colleagues when they

¹ New Orleans, Klein Parys, and Chicago are areas in the "coloured section" in Paarl. Chicago is the more sub-economic area of the three.

² Cortrai is traditionally the "white" area in Paarl.

³ Mbekweni is the black township lying between Paarl and Wellington.

have an outing or gathering in the coloured area, will not come, but if it is in a known, or white area, they go with. This he says, shows their perceptions. I said that people will also come to see how they have been represented. He agreed, ,and said that there will be a lot that will be angry, because not everyone lives like the typical Chicago which is represented. He said some of the more liberal whites would be angry at the "mau, pau" story, if they do not pronounce the words that way. he said that it would be an interesting exercise.

End of Interview.

relaxation. I then told him about people having recounted that they go to the museum if it had been raining outside, or if it is too hot. Mr M brought this into account of what he had been saying about people being blase, and then they visit the museum. Also saying that when people are bored they go to the museum and the theatre. He then went back to his previous point and said that people's contributions do not get valued and reflected in the museum. He then stressed that the events of 1976 should also be reflected. Mr M then came upon a problem, asking whether he is not dealing with the paradigm of history and not with that of museums? Because in reality the museum is being updated. But he went back to talking about the fact that people had contributed in the way of objects and therefore they thought that these would be of value, enough, to be in a museum. He said if the above is the truth, then 1976 should be incorporated into the museum, because it was a direct answer, an attack on the above, as well as being a physical attack on Afrikaans. He said that a history that is representative should be demystified, because not everybody thinks that it is the language of our fathers, because it is not the language that is being spoken by the greatest number of our people.

Mr M recognized that it would be a problem to reconstruct the words that had been spoken by people in a past. Secondly, having reconstructed a past, how do you make it "alternative"? He asked the question - Alternative, for what, or against what? You must be able to identify the "what for" of the alternative, and then you have part of the answer. He said it is a question of reconstruction of the whole history, a question of visiting people, doing research, researching articles and doing archival work, so that it may be supplementary, or replace the previous work totally. He said this because in many cases people had told untruths, therefore the new research would replace this entirely. Thus, he says, the history should be made explicit, but how the soul of people will be reflected, he doesn't know. He said the child will come into the museum and see: There a stone is being thrown because of Afrikaans; there someone is shot because of Afrikaans. He then asked the question whether he is not being biased in that case, whether he is not implanting in someone's heart; that Afrikaans is bad, look what Afrikaans can do; look how cynically the man is smiling on this side, while this is happening. It is then, he said, then that the word becomes Verwoerdian, and people say, "It's they that caused this." This he said, would be too much judgemental, in this case, he said, he thinks it should not be objective.

I then said that L.T. Du Plessis said that one should not be fighting the language, but the political movements. I also said that the movement that he is talking about, has been fired up by socio-political repressions, and that it is the souls of the people. Mr M then said, "At a previous time I had said that if you want to touch the souls, the heart of a people (volk), you should go and tamper with it's symbols, as we have seen with the flag question, with the national anthem, so much so that those people are afraid, and now I mean people who are anxious, for example, I went to C.N.A. and there was a young boer, with a cassette of 'Worsie Visser en die Boesmanland se orkes' (Worsie Visser and the Bushmanland orchestra), I nearly said, my dear child, your

so young, and you listen to 'Worsie Visser and the Boesmanland.²'" He said not only do they not have any taste, but this shows how, to what extent Calvinism has been penetrated, the exaggerated Calvinism. He said that he had listened to people speak about parents as victims of rebel children, and how people are afraid to speak and highlight this. So, he said, there is something wrong with the ego of this nation (volk). He again said, that if you want to touch the nation (volk), plant trees in the Voortrekker monument, and all the other monuments. He said that instantly they are dead, because he says, they do not have anything to cling to. He then referred to the words "the blood of our fathers and our fore-fathers", that is used to indoctrinate. He then said, "If you tamper with the nation's (volk's) symbols, then you touch the nation's psyche...and language is most probably one of the verbal symbols, then of the, of the Afrikaner nation (volk). And that is way, he says, they try to concretize, by establishing a monument, although we know that it is senseless, but people will cling to the monument, and no-one will be able to take it away, because it is part of their heritage. Mr M then said, "Therefore, as I say, the language-struggle is really a political struggle, but it is not about the language, I mean I do not have a problem with...I speak Afrikaans, and so too many other people, thousands, maybe a million people speak Afrikaans. It is not about the language, it is about the hijacking of the language, in with the flag and the springbok, by a minority grouping, for political gains, for their own gains. And it is not about my fellow human being, it is about the survival of the minority group in South Africa".

I then said that on "Agenda", Achmad Davids had said that he proposes a language route that begins in the Bo-Kaap, and that the Language-museum in Paarl would still be kept intact. Furthermore, the curator of the museum had said that the particular museum had been established in commemoration of Afrikaans as a written language. Yet, Abubakr's texts are the first written works. Mr M then said that roses have been linked to Mimi Coertze and to Naas Botha, because the people do not have any heroes. He said that if you consider their songs, such as

² Ek het al by 'n vorige geleentheid gesê, as jy wil raak aan die siel, aan die hart van 'n volk, dan moet jy gaan raak aan sy simbole, nou gesien met die vlag, met die stem, bv, soveel so, daai mense is vreesbevange, as ek praat van vreesbevange, dan praat ek van mense wat angstig sit, bv, ek gaan C.N.A. toe, en daar is 'n jong boer, met 'n kasset van "Worsie Visser en die "Boesmanland se orkes", amper gesê, my liewe land kind, jy's nog so jonk en luister na "Worsie Visser en die Boesmanland". (I have already said at a previous occasion, that if you want to touch the soul, the heart of a volk, then you should tamper with its symbols, we have seen with the flag, the national anthem, for example, how many people, those people, are afraid, and if I say afraid, I mean the people are sitting scared, for example, I go to C.N.A., and there I get a young boer, with a cassette of 'Worsie Visser and the Bushmanland orchestra', and I almost said, my dear boy, you are so young and you listen to 'Worsie Visser and the Bushmanland'.

shown on "Telletreffers"³ (Telechartbusters). He said that this is the culture of a minority group. He said that there are scenes of Naas Botha, the songs name is "Hardloop my kind" (Run my child) and it had Naas Botha, in the video, which is, Mr M said, reification of a hero figure. They try to put everyone on pedestals, he said they even have a monument of a dog, of a donkey, and he thinks of a bull. These are all manifestations of their psyche, and once again he said, that if you tamper with those monuments, then Treurnicht will not know where he is at. Although, he said, these monuments are repairable, in another sense they are not. He said that is why it is strange that people fiddle with schools and police stations, these can all be erected again, but not the monuments.

Mr M then spoke about a news programme that dealt with Alternative Afrikaans, but, he said, one had the idea that the people were uninformed. The newsreader, Cobus Dowry had read the report, and had spoken to Tony Links, but everything had been made moderate. He said the idea is created that the white people speak a pleasant Afrikaans, while black people misuse the language. He said that it is a strategy, that their students achieve A-symbols in Afrikaans, while his students do not, even though they do achieve an exemption in mathematics. He said the effect is that a message has been coming through to the subconscious all this time, a message that says: "This is not your language, you can have another language. That is the reason that they have been pushing the Cape variant of Afrikaans all this time and they are still pushing. You can find a home in that variant." They believe, he said, that they are the men who are the guardians of the language, who have laid the foundation, and you cannot even speak Afrikaans, you cannot achieve a C in Afrikaans. Because, he said, they think, we get A's and B's. And, he said, they get millions of A's and B symbols in Afrikaans. He then spoke about achieving an A-symbol in Afrikaans, saying that one has to be phenomenal to be able to achieve that kind of marks. He said that his students are good in English, and are able to obtain an A, because they do not have to speak the language, and they can learn the grammar. He said that it is a total onslaught, because the students hate Afrikaans, and so they become distanced from it.

He then said that the last examination paper for the Std 10's was different, the answers leapt out of the questionnaire. The students had done well, but this must all be seen in the context of the New South Africa. In previous years, they as teachers were not allowed the questionnaires, even when they made a formal request through the college. He then referred to a letter asking about a bibliography about the teaching of Afrikaans that they sent to Nico Klaasen, and which upon until that time had not been answered. He then asked what their agendas are, and once again said that they want us to find a home in Cape-Afrikaans, but so long as it is not in their language, and that is why they came upon Standard-Afrikaans, that no-one speaks.

³ "Teletreffers" is a television programme that specialises in Afrikaans songs and artists.

We then went on to speak about the school and museums. Mr M said that the museum process is educational, if you speak about the transfer of information, but that you open up a whole minefield. Because one should ask what kind of information, and what is knowledge in any case. Then one has to build contacts and keep intact, between the school, the museum, and the university. Linking should be in terms of curricula, language, literature, prescribed books, etc. He also said that the museum should do research, because he sees it as part of the role of the museum. He said that apart from that, they also have a cultural and a social task. He said that there should be a synchronising in terms of the syllabi, but this is problematic because it is not similar in all parts of the community. He said the first task of the museum would be to do a study of the community, to do a needs assessment, and to encourage people to visit the museum. This can be done, he maintains, by assessing the gaps, by establishing links, for eg. with principals, and by evaluation. He said the museum should be working in a supplementary fashion, by creating this link and being a network between the community and the museum. Mr M then recounted the Commemorations programme held at the Language monument. He said the programme for the festivities was sent through the post asking for the contributions by some of the students. He said that this showed the political naivety of the people, because none of the teachers and students wanted to participate.

Mr M then said that the curators of the museums are of a particular race, and that the opinions of a certain class are being reproduced, and once again this is a political action. He said that if the political aspect is not considered and dealt with, the museum cannot have an encompassing needs assessment, and it's networking can only fail. He said the Language variants, will then not be reproduced in the museum, for then it is about the protection of the own/self. Then the apathy will remain, as well as the status quo, and the museums will mummify. He said so long as the current government remains in power, the museums will be kept alive. He said that they have the know-how, the resources, and the propaganda machine. He then spoke about the newspapers such as "Die Burger", "The Argus", "Rapport" and the "Paarl Post", that "belong" to the government and that the photographers of the "Burger" and the "Argus" always win the competitions, that somewhere a campaign should be launched to investigate this phenomena.

Mr M then said that the current debates on the future of the language should be manifested in the museum. He said that the language is at this point today because of all the different currents, so that no-one can claim a right to the language. But this is what they do, they even set presidents and say, as Mr M had noticed before, "they speak our language". Mr M said that he has overheard people say, "Why are people opposed to the coloureds doing military service, they are also becoming doctors, and they also speak our language." He said that people are now professing brotherly love, that they are now calling on the departments of Afrikaans at U.W.C., and U.C.T., and saying, "Come here my neighbour." Yet, he said, there are a lot of "brothers" in the parliament, that has walked over to the other side, and now we sit with NP brothers. He said that even so, the teachers still

have a separate constituencies, and we still have a NP minister.

I then asked him how one can make the community aware of a "different" an alternative museum? He then said that the question "an alternative for what?" and the idea of how the museum will look is part of the answer. He once again stressed that the communities need should be looked at, but that their needs are survival, and not the establishment of a museum. He said that the intellectuals and the cultured, they are people who will be concerned with the museum. He said "the people" must be reached through political, other than museum paths. He said one should begin with strategies for the greater, and for the particular group. He said to inform people about the museum, will mean an immense educational task, because to teach a person to watch theatre, has not been done. He said he does not know how the people will be informed, but mission work will have to be done, and then the regime attacked. He said that every person that has voted did so for a particular regime, even if that is a good boer. He said that this is part of the Total Onslaught. As they fear Communism, he said, so we fear NPism. He said that if he goes to some-one and says, this is how the museum looks and this is how it is supposed to look, then that person will have an argument, because they are usually people with doctorates, and who are well informed. He said, to argue against the museums, one should be to be extremely well informed, and your argument should be watertight. He said that the greatest achievement will be when you are able to show to these people that your ideas, that the past should be reflected in another way, is the correct approach.

He then said he wanted to speak about debates at school level. He said that this never comes into it's own right, not at "Paulus", or at Noorder Paarl, but if you go to a white highschool, you find that it is part of the curriculum. The students' are taught debating, they are able to structure an argument, from it's beginning to the end, and are able to accept someone else's point.

TAPE STOPS.

He went on to say that the newspapers are cheating the public, the people do not know how to read articles. He said that even teachers, as educators, are being roped in by the assurance companies. He said that maybe Afrikaans language teachers should be asked to work on the concept of a museum. In addition, people can be asked to do talks, but not those tied to the regime. These people can talk around the following areas;

1. what the museum is,
2. what it can produce,
3. what it should be,
4. it's social, cultural, and historical function,
5. as the keeper of values.

The community on their part should be allowed to ask questions, and to think about the concept of a museum, before a museum-culture can grow. He went on to say that the teachers themselves can change their approach to their work within the current syllabus, and start debates, compare the '76 riots with the rest of the history of the language, so that student's can start

thinking critically about the museum. I then consolidated what he had been saying about the need for critical thought. Mr M, picking up on this previous point, said that the headlines of newspapers usually follow by stating; "according to our political editor...", not stating a fact, but an opinion. Yet, he says, people will still believe that a particular story is true, because they say, the Rapport had said so. He said that he reads the "Rapport", "The Argus", "Sunday Times", and depending on the context the story will change, while none of the stories are pursued. He said even the news on the tv, changes from hour to hour. Certain stories will be run at 7:30am that will be left out at 8:00am. He then went on to talk about the ways the psyche is played upon by the media. He related the story about Noreaga who was bombarded with a type of music that he disliked to lure him out of his hiding place. He then spoke about an advert in the "Paarl Post" about the laying of carpets. One section off the advert had proclaimed, "under white supervision". He then gave this particular advert to his students and asked them to react to it, and write a letter to the newspaper. Some of the students were not able to see the racism in the advert. He said that this is an example of what the system has done to us, that the students' are not able to read the ideological message. Mr M said, that as long "Teletreffers" gets airplay, this message will still be broadcasted. He said that the programme is the guardian of the Afrikaans music even for a minority, yet a lot of people only have tv1, and therefore they are being bombarded by this ideology. He once again said that people should be informed, and that he might have sent a letter to the newspaper, and then said, come, let us build a new Paarl culture. But, instead, he said, the principals were forced to send their pupils to the language festivities. Now the pupils have cups with Paarl written on it, and the people say that it is a manifestation of the coloured community's interest. He said yet that is not the case, people do not visit the museum. He said, people should be able to go to the museum, freely, and not be forced to do so. He also suggested that a letter be placed in the local newspaper, and that a newspaper polemic be started, so that the people will later become bored. He identified a three pronged strategy -

1. start a polemic,
2. encourage and build culture,
3. criticise and break down the current culture.

He cautioned, however, that the current culture should not be demolished before an alternative is not found.

We then moved on to speak about feminism in relation to the language and the museum. Mr M started the conversation by speaking about the concept "laboratory". He said that a laboratory is a different concept to what we and the rest of the community understand around the term "museum". He said that "museum" leaned towards mummifying, stagnation, while in a lab, experiments are done. He said that the latter would promote the idea of continuity, of something new to be discovered, of new influences i.t.o. the language. I then said that the last time we spoke, laboratory came to represent a place for the community, which could be a theatre, or even a venue for community meetings. Mr M then said that would need a different term in the future.

Mr M then moved on to speak about feminism, and said that it is

in the value of the museum to include feminism. He then said that he does not know how it can be illustrated. He said that the museum should be representation of values, but it should not make a distinction in terms of age, race. It should represent all of the above as objective as possible, and therefore it should be non-sexist. He said that he is not sure whether the feminism refers to the contributions made by women to the language. He said that if you look at it closely, it should also involve the contributions made by women to the early stages of the language, it's beginnings, that is not being reflected. (because it's a man's world.) He then said speaking historically, you are dealing with the women who was at home, who spoke to the servant, because that is how a lot of the events start. He also said that in the beginning the novel was written for women, because men thought that women are idle. He said that even today, novels such as those of Ena Murray is particularly for relaxation. He said that the novel had changed to something intellectual.

End of Interview.

Interview 2 with Mr J on 15/1/92.

The interview took place at the home of Mr J.

He started by asking what I meant when I spoke about an alternative museum. I explained that it was alternative in terms of in the place of the existing museum. He then said that not all places has a museum as Paarl is fortunate to have. I then said that the Alternative museum is an alternative language museum, that it might not be referred to as such, but that it would try and define it. He then asked if the museum would have inferences to other contexts, such as culture, or whether it would refer only to the language. I answered that I would like to know from him whether the museum should portray only the historical, or if it should incorporate culture, and how he would approach the community to work on such a project. He said that the community is very uninvolved. For this reason, he said, one should make use of the current museum, and add contributions from the community, whose culture had been excluded. But to start something new will be impossible. He said that the way he knows people, they will go to the bazaar, but not to a cultural event. Thus he asked, who will you go to, who will you contact? I then asked him whether one should first change the concept of culture before people are to be drawn in? To this he answered yes, and said that one should know precisely what you want. Is the museum about language, is it about traditions, what do you want in the museum. Then you are able to proceed. Of course you will then need people to help you with the project, but to start it will be difficult. I then asked him whether he thinks one should involve people from the start, and ask then what they see as a museum, or if this is asking too much. He then said that he thinks one should start at the schools. he said that the schools have their records of all who had been there. He said that the community starts, and then it is the schools that create it. Therefore, the books, the (entrance registers) are all at the schools, and thus all those who have become important in the community can be looked up. Thus through working through the school and it's records, you are able to contact people. He said that in Wellington, Bergrivier was the first school, before Weltevrede¹. He said that the people still prefer to send their children to Bergrivier, while the people who live in the new area which was built in Wellington, will send their children to the other school. He said that even places such as Lambertsbaai will send students to Bergrivier. He said that some of the people who have gone through Bergrivier have risen into the world. Others have become lecturers, and have gone on and done their own research. I then asked him 2 questions. The one was to ask how one would interest the students in the museum. The second question was about the common person, and how that person will be contacted. He then said that those people who become an outstanding member of the community, supports the culture or the language. He said that the knowledge of someone living in a sub-economic house is also needed. One must draw the community in it's whole, such as the social workers that work with the

¹ Bergrivier and Weltevrede are "coloured" secondary schools in Wellington.

people on the lower economic strata. He said that a lot of the older people have stories about the past, that they have experienced, or that they saw. He said in their mouths you hear words that have long since died out, while the younger people create new words that will slot in with the language variants. I then said that the stories also capture the language variants, and can therefore also go into the museum which will make Afrikaans a living language. Mr J said that especially Wellington every person has a nickname. He said that because the place was small before the expansion, everyone knew the other person through the nickname. For instance, if the person's name is Cecil, that name will be linked to a certain nickname, Cecil this or Cecil that. But even though he has been a teacher in Wellington for ten years, he has not got a nickname yet. He said that the nickname is always linked to something that the person did, so that one is able to research what it is in any particular instance. I then asked him how the language, with the story and the nicknames would be represented in the museum, to ensure that it remains a living language? He said that it can only be done in a book form, and in no other. He then went back to speaking about nicknames and said that if some-one wanted to research the nicknames, they should come to Wellington. He said that from the beginning, when the school was still young, everybody had nicknames, teachers and the principals. I then asked him if he thinks this is a factor that binds the community? He said that he would agree that it does, especially where there is only one school. He said that the school did get influences from outside, that children from Lambertsbaai and Cape Town came, but that they brought drugs to the school. He said the Cape Town way of doing things was introduced into the community, but was summarily thrown out again. He then said that the school is central in the community, that the school services it, and that people always come back to the school. He then spoke about the problems created when the second school was built. He spoke about how the schools in communities such as Paarl and Wellington can cause unification or rifts to occur. I then said in this age of enlightenment. Those who knew Verwoerd, might feel that Apartheid was better, because they do not understand all this violence, and because they had been living comfortably. He said that even educated people say, " if the kaffers take over, we're leaving the country." He said that the newspapers had always portrayed a picture of the black countries that are mismanaged by their governments, for instance ,that is how bad it's going in Zimbabwe. he said that people grew up with "Die Burger" and now they believe whatever is said in it. He said that those people are the problem, they will all vote NP. They say that they will not stand for a black government. But everyone has fought for what is now on their hands, he said, and what now? He said that now we need education programme. But, he said this education programme had already began in 1976, in the schools, the boycotts. He said that the people are now educated in terms of the repression, and against all that was wrong. But now, he said, now that the real thing is on the doorstep, the people do not know where to go to. Everybody wants to get away from it and now the violence is taking over. He said that people are used to hearing that black people fight each other, and now they think, let them kill each other, and they fear that they too will be killed. He said, therefore, one should start with an education

programme with the people who were raised under Verwoerd. He said although they know Apartheid was wrong, yet they still believe in that age, because as he said before, they lived well. That is why, in this age of violence, they hanker back. He said that those people are old, and only death awaits them. He said that the age which began with '76 is still on, and that it will stop with the New South Africa. He said that before '76 Apartheid was at it's worse, then the age of fighting back, when the government made some concessions, so that this age, all the strands will have to be woven together. He said that people should accept that things do change, that Verwoerd came and went, that the NP came and went, that a black government will come, and in the future it too will go. Thus, people will have to be educated, he said. He then said that the ages, in terms of politics, must be represented in the museum. The era of Verwoerd; before Verwoerd; the black aspirations when apartheid was introduced; and the era when the resistance became stronger. This must all become part of the current museum, he said. He said that the current museum only portrays the white era, and the white culture. He said that one should see the, for example, P.W. Botha age, and the resistance against that. That the two should be seen in contrast to each other. He said that one should visualise it in the form of a pyramid, with the two poles against each other, with the resistance growing, and the other party giving in until the two unite. I then asked him if he believes this should equally be heard from the workers, from his and my father? To this he agreed, because they had lived through it. There are also, he said, photographs, newspaper articles, that must become part of this presentation. He then said that this must form a book, and pictures such as the first person who was shot because of the resistance movement, and the mass-murders that occur. He said that one should also look at court cases, which might still be opened up again in the near future. I then referred him back to his comments on "Die Burger", and the propaganda that is carried through. He said that one should be able to read the particular newspaper keeping in mind your own political point of view. He said that some people read the newspaper, and believe what it says. On the other hand, the English newspapers are not as radical as one would like them to be. Because in the end, he said, they too are only espousing a particular viewpoint. But even though one might not want to blame them, he said, they do succeed in aligning people to a certain ideology. He said that the newspapers print pictures of the man being knifed through the shoulder with a spear, and people say that the "Burger" said the black people are killing each other, so where will we all live? But the people do not consider who are the perpetrators of the violence, talking about the third force. I asked him if he thought the museum should be considering such issues such as the disinformation on all sides, the ANC, and the NP? He said that was right, I then said that it all ties in with each other, the lingua that was created, speaking about casspirs, and the jokes that started up. He then reiterated that one should go to the school because it is central.

I then said that his concept of a museum is wide, and that everything he had referred to, has to be included. He responded by saying that it should be included because the museum is history, it has a starting point and it has an end. Or you have

to speak to one part of the museum. But you must deal with the aspect of the growth of the language, and then include the politics of the day and cultural groups. I then asked him how he envisioned the representation of the growth of the language in the mouths of the people. He responded by saying that that was difficult. He said that it would be difficult to determine when a new word started. I asked him if one should say to people, see, here we have a change in the language, or if you should only portray the story, the culture and the context. He said that it should be used in the context, that the word gets formed in the streets. He said that people should be made aware of the new word, but he asked, where do you go with a new word? If you read the newspaper and you come across a new word, you will not know if they are trying to ground the word themselves. He said that it is very difficult to ground the word that has sprung from the folks mouth into a certain time span. He also said that people become aware of a new word when it is spoken to each other, and when it is carried on. He said that there are academics who study the formation of new words. We then spoke about the fact that a new word can be spoken in a home for a long time, but that the student who comes into contact with it, will regard it as a new word.

We then moved on to speak about feminism in the museum. Mr J said that the stories that you unearth from the community should also include the female gender. He said that a lot of the women in the community have been given nicknames, and have reached high (echelons) in the community, thus their contribution to the community would be important. He said that the social workers will be mostly women, and they are the people who deal with the impoverished, the problem cases in the community, and the sub-economic classes. He said that therefore the women should be incorporated for the gathering of information. But whether women will make part of the museum, that he is not sure of. He said that the leading role on the community has always been the man. He said that women will be part of this process of gathering information, and that they will be part of the early process of establishing the museum, that there will be stories to be told of the women, but that they will most likely not play a prominent role in the museum. I then asked him whether he feels that the language that shows the oppression of women should be included or not. If a woman says, that because she is seen as less than a man, the following happened, if that should be in the museum, or if that is too sensitive? He answered that he does not believe that would be suitable in the museum. He said that both men and women, who were part of the growth of the language, must be part of the museum or laboratory. I then said that he felt that if a person said that with apartheid the black woman was more oppressed than the black man, that will be creating too much division, that the grades of oppression should be left out. That women and men should be portrayed in the museum on an equal footing. He referred back to the two roads that lead to an eventual coming together of two different poles and said, that women have been playing a lesser role than men, but that they too have been rising above that. That the gap between the sexes has narrowed, so that there is now an equal footing. He said therefore the lesser role, and the manner in which women gained the equality should be portrayed. I then suggested that one start by

looking how many women teachers started at a school, and how much there are now. He then said that in the school set-up, the girls do better than the boys, that there are 1/3 boys and 2/3 girls. He said that in the schools, the girls play the leading role, in terms of the student representative council. I then asked him whether he felt one should first build up a museum-culture, or if you should build the museum, draw the people and then in that way build the culture? He said that a culture already exists, therefore one should first build the museum, then gather the information. He then spoke about the research the school did in terms of their history, and the sources and the interviews that they did. He said that they started at the first years of the school, used old photographs, and everyone who had some story to tell.

TAPE STOPS.

He then said that it was easy for them , because the teachers knew who they had to contact.

End of Interview.